

THE
British Antich:
OR,
BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION of
— The LIVES at large
Of the most EMINENT MEN,
Natives of Great Britain and Ireland
from the Reign of HENRY VIII to GEORGE II.

Both inclusive
— Whether distinguished as $\frac{253}{E}$
 Statemen, [Warriors,] Poets,
 Patriots, [Divines,] Philosophers.

Adorned with COPPER PLATES)
VOL IV



— (L O N D O N) —
 Printed by the K J A G's Authority,
 For EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultry;
MDCCLXXII.



G. R.

WHEREAS Our trusty and well-beloved
 EDWARD DILLY, of our city of London, Bookseller, hath, by his petition, humbly represented unto us, that he hath undertaken to print and publish a work called *The British Plutarch, or Biographical Entertainer*; being a select collection of the lives at large of the most eminent men, natives of Great Britain and Ireland, from the reign of king Henry the Eighth, to that of Our late Royal Grandfather, both inclusive: in the prosecution of which he hath been at great trouble and expence in procuring access to antient records, memoirs, papers, and other authentic intelligence: as well as engaging several gentlemen of learning and abilities, to compile from those materials, in such a stile and method, as to render that work more amusing and universally useful, than any thing of the kind that has hitherto made its appearance. And, being desirous of reaping the fruits of his said labour and expence, and enjoying the full profit and benefit that may arise from vending the above-mentioned valuable.

able work, without any other person's interfering in his just property : he hath therefore most humbly prayed His Majesty to grant him Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work. We do therefore, by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the statute in that case made, provide, grant unto him, the said EDWARD DILLY, his executors, administrators, and assigns, Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work, for the term of fourteen years ; strictly forbidding all Our subjects, within Our kingdoms and dominions, to reprint, abridge, or publish the same, either in the like, or any other volume, or volumes, whatsoever ; or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any copies thereof reprinted before the seas, during the aforesaid term of fourteen years, without the consent and approbation of the said EDWARD DILLY, his heirs, executor and assigns, under their hands and seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Wherefore the commissioners, and other officers of the customs, the master, wardens, and company of stationers, are to take notice, that due obedience may be rendered to Our will and pleasure herein declared.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, this 20th Day of January, 1762, in the second Year of Our reign.

By His MAJESTY's Command;

E G R E M O N T.

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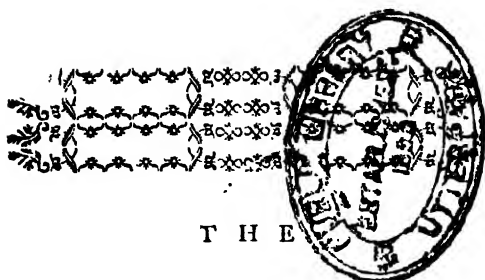
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Lord Burleigh




T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM CECIL.

Extracted from an Ancient Manuscript.

 WILLIAM, lord of Burleigh, was born at Bourn, in the county of Lincoln, on the thirteenth day of September, 1521. His father, Richard Cecil, of Burleigh, in the county of Northampton, esquire, being principal officer of the robes in the time of Henry VIII: and in great favour with the king. His mother's name was Jane Heckington, daughter and heiress of William Heckington, of Bourn, in the county of Lincoln; by whom

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came the inheritance of the lordship of Burleigh, and other lands, to the value of two hundred pounds yearly.

His lordship being in his infancy of a pregnant wit, and apt to learn, was brought up at school at Grantham and Stamford; and, at the age of fourteen years, he went to Cambridge, where he was student in St. John's College, being so diligent that he hired the bell-ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning; till, by watching and continual sitting, there fell abundance of humours into his legs, then very hardly cured, which was thought one of the original causes of his gout; and one Medcalf, at that time master of the house, seeing his diligence, would often give him money to encourage him. He was so studious, and so early capable, that he was reader of the sophistry lecture when but sixteen years of age; and afterwards he read the Greek lecture, as a gentleman, for his exercise and pleasure, without pension, before he was nineteen years old; which he performed so learnedly, as was beyond expectation of a student of his standing, or years and birth.

When he had proceeded master of arts, and continued at the university about six years, and his friends thought his learning there sufficient, he left the university; and, being nineteen years old, went to the inns of court, and was student in Gray's-inn, where he profited as before at Cambridge. But, as his years and company required, he would many times be merry

merry among young gentlemen, who were most desirous of his company for his witty mirth and temper.

Among the rest he used to tell this story of himself, That a mad companion enticed him to play ; where, in a short time, he lost all his money, bedding, and books, having never been used to game before ; but, being amongst his other company, he told them how such a one had misled him, saying, he would presently have a device to be even with him ; so, with a long trunk, he made a hole in the wall near his playfellow's bed-head, and, in a fearful voice, spoke thus through the trunk : " Oh mortal man repent, repent of thy horrible sin, play, cosenage, and such lewdness, or else thou art damned, and canst not be saved : " which, at midnight, all alone, so amazed the young man as to drive him into a sweat for fear.

Most penitent and heavy, the next day, in the presence of the youths, he told with trembling what a fearful voice spake to him at midnight, vowing never to play again ; and calling for Mr. Cecil, he asked him forgiveness on his knees, and restored all his money, bedding, and books. So two gamesters were both reclaimed with this merry device, and never played more.

• About the latter time of king Henry VIII. Mr. Cecil coming from Gray's Inn to the court to see his father, it was his chance to be in the presence-chamber, where he met two

priests, chaplains to O Neale, who was then in court ; and talking long with them in Latin, he fell into dispute with the priests ; wherein he shewed so great learning and wit, as he proved the poor priests to have neither ; who were so cast down that they had not a word to say, but flung away in chafe, no less discontented than ashamed to be foiled in such a place by a lad. It was told the king, that young Mr. Cecil had confuted both O Neale's chaplains. The king called for him, and, after long talk with him, being much delighted with his answers, the king willed his father to find out a suit for him : whereupon he became suitor for a reversion of the Custos Bre-vium Office in the Common Pleas ; which the king willingly granted.

After he had spent some time at the law, on the eighth of August, in the 33d year of Henry VIII. he took to wife Mary Cheeke, sister to Sir John Cheeke, knight, who lived with him not a year and a quarter ; by whom he had his first son Thomas. Afterwards, on the twenty-first of December, five years following, being twenty-four years old, he married Mildred Cooke, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, knight, a wise and virtuous lady, who lived with him many years after he came to be treasurer of England. She was excellently learned in the Greek, so that she translated a piece of Chrysostom into English. He had by her, Anne, Robert, and Elizabeth ; and Frances Cecil, a daughter, and William, and William, who all three died young.

In

WILLIAM CECIL. 5

In the first year of king Edward VI. the duke of Somerset, then lord-protector, hearing of Mr. Cecil, sent for him to be master of his requests; and the same year he went with the duke to Mufelborough-field, where he was like to have been slain, but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the canon, had it stricken off. In the second year of king Edward VI. he was committed to the Tower about the duke of Somerset's first calling in question; where he remained a quarter of a year, and was delivered.

The duke of Somerset perceiving the king's great liking of Mr. Cecil, about the third year of the king's reign, preferred him to be secretary of state, and a counsellor to the king, being but twenty-five years old; and, in the fifth year of Edward VI. he was made knight: a rare thing for so young a man to be called to such places of honour and estimation, wherein he continued till the king's death.

The two dukes of Northumberland and Somerset strove to win him, tempting him with great offers. He shewed duty to both, but would take gifts of neither; but, after the king died, he was disgraced by the duke of Northumberland for disliking the purpose teaching the lady Jane; yet he carried the matter so temperately as he kept his conscience free, his truth to the crown, and himself from danger.

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When queen Mary came in, she granted Sir William Cecil a general pardon; and, in choosing her counsellors, said, if he would change his religion, he should be her secretary and counsellor: to which purpose some wise men were underhand set to allure and discover his disposition; but, like himself, he wisely and christianly answered, he was taught and bound to serve God first, and next the queen; that she had been his so gracious lady as he would never serve and pray for her in his heart; and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her loyal subjects; but hoped she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large as a private man rather than to be her greatest counsellor. Yet the queen still used him very graciously, and forbore either to hear his enemies, who were many, or to disgrace himself; for, in the second year of her reign, he was sent to Brussels, with the lord Paget, to bring in cardinal Pole.

In the parliament time there was a matter in question for something the queen would have passed; wherein Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Pollard, and many others of value, especially western men, were opposite, Sir William Cecil being their speaker, having that day told a good tale for them. When the house rose, they came to him and said they would dine with him
that

that day. He answered they should be welcome, so they did not speak of any matters of parliament; which they promised; yet some began to break promise, for which he challenged them.

This meeting and speech was known to the counsel, and all the knights and gentlemen were sent for and committed. Sir William Cecil was also sent for; but he desired they would not do by him as by the rest, which he thought somewhat hard; that was, to commit them first and to hear them after; but prayed them first to hear him, and then to commit him if he were guilty. "You've spoken like a man of experience," quoth my lord Paget; and, upon hearing the circumstances, he cleared himself, and so escaped imprisonment and disgrace.

When queen Elizabeth began her reign, Sir William Cecil, for his truth and tried service to her, was worthily called and honourably advanced by her majesty to be her secretary and counsellor; and was first sworn of any counsellor she had, at Hatfield, where she lay at her first coming to her crown.

At the first parliament holden in the beginning of the queen's reign, great difficulties arose in reforming and altering religion, and for the better satisfaction of the state of parliament, by his lordship's advice, there was a conference had in Westminster church, by the old and new bishops and other learned men, upon

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some questions and points devised principally by himself touching the exercise of religion; which was so politicly handled, and wisely governed, that such satisfaction was given, that the queen and parliament, with one consent, established the form of religion ever since practised.

By his politic advice, the coin, and monies of the realm, were brought to a standard of fineness from baseness, being then one of the richest coins of the world, to the great enriching of this realm and commonwealth; for he held a position, which undoubtedly is true, that the realm cannot be rich whose coin is poor or base.

In the second year of the queen he was sent into Scotland to treat of peace; which, chiefly by his wisdom, was effected, with some honorable conditions for the queen and realm. It was ever observed, as one notable virtue in his disposition, to be desirous to preserve peace in the land; which undoubtedly is the only blessing can fall upon a nation.

In the third year of the queen's reign, the tenth of January, he was made master of the wards, upon the death of Sir Thomas Parry.

In the twelfth year of her majesty's reign, the rebellion of the north began; wherein, himself being secretary alone, and thereby all dispatches passing his hands, he took such care, and gave such provident counsel, that matters were so quickly expedited, and politicly carried

ried, and the rebels suppressed without blood or danger, to the honour of the queen and weal of the realm.

But, in the time of this prosperous rising, the hearts of some did also rise against his fortune; who were more hot in envying him, than able to follow him; detracting his praises, discouraging his services, and plotting his danger; as on a time a book, passionately penned against the nobility, came to his hands, and was seen upon his table, by a great man, which book he had read with great dislike, noting many lies and faults of the writer: yet there was a formal tale told to the lords of the counsel, and divers of the nobility, infering it to be done or procured by himself to disgrace the nobility. Whereupon such a fire was kindled against him among the lords, as a plot was laid to cut him off. He was thereupon called before the council without the queen's knowledge, and charged; which, though he sufficiently answered, yet was it resolved he should be sent to the Tower, and then they would find matter enough against him. Whereof he having advertisement, wrote to the queen; who commanded nothing should be done against him without her privy. So the fire was covered, but not quenched; for, not long after, a villain was hired to kill him, and set at the stairs foot to dispatch him as he came from the queen; but being warned of it, he went down another way and escaped; and, as he had some foes at

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home, so he wanted not enemies abroad; for, another time, a popish villain was, by some seminaries, persuaded to kill him; and, being with him alone in his chamber, standing behind him leaning upon his chair, had not the power to perform his villainy, though, when he came in, he took his dagger ready in his hand to do it.

As he continued his care, so he grew in favour with his prince and liking of the people, and having twelve years served as secretary, he was by her majesty created baron of Burleigh, upon Shrove Sunday the twenty-fifth of February 1570; and in June 1572, he was made knight of the garter; and the fifteenth of July following, he was made lord high treasurer of England, upon the death of the lord marquiss of Winchester.

He grew now to some greatness, carrying a reputation and rule in the commonwealth, so that it was thought nothing was done without him; so equally hearing, justly censuring, and carefully dispatching causes, that few suits were suffered to linger long before him, but were either ended by judgment, or ordered by agreement, using one singular course in hearing causes; that if he found them difficult, or rigorously to be censured, he would ever make motions for arbitration, and either by his authority or persuasion, agree them; so that he ended more causes in a term than were before in a twelvemonth, insomuch as all men had such an opinion of his justice and indifference.

that they never thought themselves satisfied nor their suits well ended, that either had not their cause brought to his hearing, or his letter in their behalf, which drew upon him multitudes of suits. For, besides all business in council, or other weighty causes, and such as were answered by word of mouth, there was not a day in a term wherein he received not three-score, four-score, and an hundred petitions, which he commonly read that night, and gave every man an answer himself the next morning, as he went to the hall; wherein one thing was observed of his excellent memory, that reading those bills over-night, there was not one petitioner came to him the next morning, but so soon as he heard their names, he remembered their matter, and gave them his answer. He would also answer the poorest person by word of mouth, appointing times and places of purpose so long as he was able; and after he grew weak and could not go abroad, he devised a new way, taking order that poor suitors should send in their petitions sealed up, whereby the poorest man's bill came to him as soon as the richest: upon every petition he caused his answer to be written on the back, and subscribed it with his own name, or else they had his letter or other answer, as the cause required: by which charitable and honourable device there was none ~~that~~ for answer, but were speedily dispatched.

Thus held he on his course like himself, prayed for by the poor, honoured by the rich,

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feared by the bad, and loved by the good ; to his prince and country loyal, and to the subjects most pleasing, wondering at his great wisdom and gravity, and praising his justice and integrity ; most men honouring him with the title of father of the commonwealth ; and his diligent and studious course of life was such as caused all his friends to pity him, and his very servants to admire him ; he was never seen half an hour idle for twenty-four years together ; for if there were cause of business ~~he was~~ occupied till that were done ; if he had no business, he was reading or collecting ; if he rode abroad he had suitors ; when he came in he dispatched them ; when he went to bed and slept not, he was either meditating or reading ; and he used to say, he did penetrate farther into the depths of causes, and found out more resolutions in his bed than when he was up ; he left scarce time for sleep or meals, or leisure to go to bed ; yet so long as his business went forward, and his prince and country pleased, he thought his pains a pleasure, and all he could do too little ; so great was his care, and love to his prince and country.

The parliament, star-chamber, and other public places, there was not a sitting, but left some note of his wisdom, gravity, and justice ; all which his speeches and deeds so expressed, that when all men had spoken to the purpose, as was thought, most excellently, or in cases of difficulty most doubtfully, yet when he ca

to speak, he so far exceeded, as his gravity, wisdom, and eloquence so weighed and reached to the depth, so far above the reach of the rest, as was no less admired than allowed of the hearers; all things perfectly concluded and all doubts exactly cleared; and yet which was observed a strange thing in him, that for all his long and public speeches, he was never seen to study a quarter of an hour, or to take notes, or torne books for any of his speeches; his long experience and practice made him need no helps. And it was noted, that wheresoever he sat in place of justice, there wanted not numbers that came only to hear him speak; which drew unto him so great estimation, as all men, even his very enemies, thought him to be the wisest and gravest counsellor of his age, the best sort extolling his worthiness, the rest fearing his justice and greatness. The queen never resolved any cause of estate without his counsel, nor seldom passed any private suit from herself, that was not first referred to his consideration, and had his approbation before it past.

As his estimation was worthily great in his own country, so he was greatly famous in all nations in Christendom, and other remote parts of the world. As on a time a great man of France, being in England, wrote a letter to the French king, saying, he was the wisest and gravest counsellor of Christendom, that in the court he was accounted *Pater Patriæ*, and among the common people, quasi *Rex*; for

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for his knowledge in treaties was such, that when any ambassador came to treat with him, he would so far exceed the reach of their wisdoms, as they rather revered him, than stood in opposition to him in any argument. There was no form or manner of treaties that he had not seen and had ready in his head; neither was there ever any went beyond him in any point of treaty. Yet was he ever more ready to prevent, than our enemies to attempt; and more provident to secure us, than they were to offend us; in so much as there was no enemy of England that feared not the Treasurer, wished his death, and was satisfied to purchase it. There was no prince or potentate, our friends, that did not reverence him, send to him, and seem to hold his friendship in estimation. There were many demonstrations of the reputation many princes had of him; as when Mr. William Cecil, travelling in Italy, was brought before cardinal Farneze, a man of great authority, who finding Mr. Cecil to be the grandson of the high treasurer of England, he lodged him in his house, appointed divers gentlemen to attend him, and his horses to be at his commandment; speaking most reverently of his grandfather, and never left enquiring of the manner of his life, fashion, stature, speech, recreations, and such like; delighting to hear it, and talk of him, and at his departing gave him presents and money in his purse. The like did the duke of Florence to Mr. Edward Cecil, a younger
-brother.

brother, and, which was an extraordinary favour, the duke gave him leave to ride his own horse ; and at his departure gave him gifts of price.

By his place and greatness he had daily intelligence from many countries ; and besides foreign letters he received not so few as twenty or thirty other letters in a day, whereby he had sometimes good news and sometimes bad ; if it were good he would temperately speak of it, if ill he kept it to himself. He was never moved with passion in either, neither joyful at the best, nor daunted at the worst ; and it was noted in him, that though his body was weak, his courage never failed, as in times of the greatest danger he ever spoke most chearfully, and executed things most readily, when others seemed doubtful ; and when some talked fearfully of the greatness of our enemies, he would ever answer, they shall do no more than God will suffer them ; which argued his whole trust in God, and a courage in himself.

In causes depending before him in justice, he regarded neither friend or enemy ; but if he loved any way, it was rather to the foe, least he should be taxed of partiality ; and he would very sharply reprehend his friends, relations, and servants, for bringing suits before him, when they were not upon good grounds, and would force them rather to compound than sue. In cases of justice, none could ever do him greater despight than to offer him any thing : he was known to refuse a buck, and

Wm. Cecil. 15
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many pieces of plate at New-years-tide ; and to offer him money was to offend him so as they fared the worse, ever saying, I will take nothing of you, having a cause depending before me.

His careful course in the court of wards was most commendable, for he was always careful both of her majesty's profit and prerogative, and to maintain the privileges and authority of the court. Finding the revenue of the court to abate, he began to look into the cause, writing letters to all the ~~feodaries~~ ^{feodaries} of England, to look better to the queen's service, for the increasing of her revenue. And though no master of the wards ever rated male wards above one year's value, and females at two year's value, according to their lands found by office, his lordship increased males to a year and an half, and raised much the rates of females. And whereas other masters of the wards, before his lordship demised ward lands at the value found by office, and rated the same at one year's value, his lordship would suffer no lease to pass before the lands were surveyed by the feodaries, and rated the fines at a year and a half, according to the improved values : though he might have raised things to a higher rate if he had not respected her majesty's honour, and regarded the ease of the subject.

His lordship hated fraudulent conveyances to defeat the queen of wardship, and where he found the fault, he did sharply punish it. He would also severely punish contemners of the queen's process, commonly using these words,

words, *Melior est obedientia quam victima*. He ever endeavoured to commit wards to persons of sound religion, and preferred natural mothers before all others to the custody of their children, if they were not to be touched with any notable exception. He would often remember causes and orders past twenty or thirty years before, better than the counsellors, clerks, and often than the parties whom it concerned. At the arguing of any great causes, he not only observed and heard their arguments, but would also with great judgment plead and argue himself, and when he set down orders, he would ever deliver the reason of his order. His commandments were short, plain, and full, so as a man of very mean capacity, might both understand and effect them. He was sparing in commending any, and yet would praise some, but lightly; yet was the most ready to cherish the sufficient. He favoured not the granting of wards in the father's lifetime. He would never suffer lawyers to wrangle, but ever hold them to the point; which was a cause of great reverence and order in the court. He would fine sheriffs deeply if they were found negligent, and would never spare any indebted to the queen. Yet was it imagined he made infinite gain by such wards as he kept in his own hands; but if it be narrowly sifted, it will appear, that in all the time he was master of the wards, he reserved to his own use but three, whereof he had profit but of two; and when he granted a wardship, as he did great numbers, he never
took

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took benefit of above four in a year, which was in this sort. If either the mother, or the friends, wrote to him that they would give two or three hundred pounds to have the preferment of a wardship, they had it without indenting, bargaining, or examining the value, if it proved worth five times as much as they paid for it. At other times, peradventure once or twice in a year, a nobleman, lady, or gentleman that had a ward of him worth five hundred or a thousand pounds, would send him, some eight pounds, some an hundred angels, or a piece of plate at New-year's-day. And here is all the the profit that, one year with the other, he made of it, unless it were by a chance. The rest he gave freely to courtiers, to his friends, to his servants, to the mothers, or the wards themselves. It was found by the books of entries, that in two years and a half his lordship gave about two hundred wards, whereof a hundred and eighty fell to courtiers; though he was not bound to give any man a ward, without recompence to himself; yet people much diminished his deserts.

His lordship kept two houses, one at London, the other at Theobalds, though he was at charge, both at Burleigh and the court. At London he kept ordinarily in household, fourscore persons, besides, his lordship and such as attended him at the court, the charge amounting to thirty pounds a week, and the sum yearly to fifteen hundred and sixty pounds; and in the term times, or when his lordship lay

lay at London, his charge increased ten or twelve pounds a week. At Theobalds he kept continually his household lying at London, twenty-six or thirty persons, the charge being weekly twelve pounds : and also relieved there daily twenty or thirty poor people at the gate, and besides gave weekly in money by Mr. Neal, his lordship's chaplain, vicar of Chestnut, twenty shillings to the poor there. The weekly charge in setting poor on work, as wooders, labourers, &c. came to ten pounds, and so his weekly charge at Theobalds, his household being at London, was twenty-two pounds ; and the yearly sum eleven hundred and forty-four pounds ; both summed together his yearly charge was twenty-seven hundred and four pounds. When his lordship was continually at the court, which you may imagine much increased at his lordship's coming home, for I have heard his officers affirm, that at his lordship's being at Theobalds, it cost him fourscore pounds in a week. The charge of his stable, not here mentioned, was yearly a thousand marks at the least. Besides which certain charge he bought great quantities of corn in times of dearth, to furnish markets about his own houses at underprices, to pull down the price to relieve the poor. He gave also for releasing of prisoners in many of his latter years forty pounds, and fifty in a term ; and for twenty years together he gave yearly in beef, bread, and money, at Christmas, to the poor of Westminster, St.

Martin's

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Martin's, St. Clement's, and at Theobalds, thirty-five pounds, and sometimes forty pounds per annum. He gave also yearly to twenty poor men lodging in the Savoy, twenty suits of apparel. He gave also for three years before he died, to poor prisoners, and to poor parishes, in money weekly forty-five shillings, so as his certain alms, besides extraordinaries, was cast up to be five hundred pounds yearly, one year with another.

With regard to the ~~order and~~ government of his house, the officers were so many, as are usually in the greatest men's houses. There were prayers every day said in his chapel at seven of the clock, where his lordship and all his servants were present, and seldom or ever went to dinner without prayers; and so likewise at six of the clock, before supper; which course was observed by his steward in his lordship's absence. When his lordship was able to sit abroad, he kept an honourable table for noblemen and others to resort unto; but when age and infirmities grew on him, he was forced to keep his chamber, where he was void neither of company nor meat, having as many of his friends and children, as before he had strangers: his diet being then as chargeable weekly, as when he came abroad. His lordship's hall was ever well furnished with men served with meat, and kept in good order; for his steward kept a standing table for gentlemen, besides two other long tables many times twice set out, one for the clerk of
the

the kitchen, the other for yeomen. And whether his lordship were absent or present, all his men, both retainers and others, resorted continually to meat and meal, at their pleasure, which I have seldom seen in any house.

His lordship was served with men of quality and stability, for most of the principal gentlemen in England, sought to prefer their sons and heirs to his service; insomuch as I have numbered in his house attending on the table, twenty gentlemen of his retainers, of one thousand pounds per annum a-piece, in possession and reversion; and of his ordinary men as many, some worth a thousand pounds, some three, five, ten, nay twenty thousand pounds, daily attending his lordship's service.

His lordship's extraordinary charge in entertainment of the queen, was greater to him than to any of her subjects; for he entertained her at his house twelve several times, which cost him two or three thousand pounds each, lying there at his lordship's charge, sometimes three weeks or a month. But his love to his sovereign, and joy to entertain her and her train, was so great, as he thought no trouble, care, nor cost, too much, and all too little, so it were bountifully performed, to her majesty's recreation, and the contentment of her train. Her majesty sometimes had strangers and ambassadors come to her at Theobalds, where she hath been seen in as great royalty, and served as bountifully and magnificently, as at any other time or place; all at his lordship's charge,

charge, with rich shews, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports, that could be devised, to the great delight of her majesty, and her whole train, with great thanks from her, and as great commendation abroad.

He built three houses, one in London for necessity, another at Burliegh of competency, for the mansion of his barony, and another at Waltham, for his younger son; which at the first he meant but for a little pile; but after he came to entertain the queen so often there, he was forced to enlarge it, rather for the queen and her great train, and to set poor men to work, than for pomp or glory; for he said, it would be too big for the small living he could leave his son. The other two are but convenient, and no bigger than will serve for a nobleman, all of them perfected, convenient, and to better purpose for habitation, than many others built by great noblemen, being all beautiful, uniform, necessary, and well seated; which are great arguments of his wisdom and judgment. He greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobalds were perfected, most beautifully, and pleasantly, where one might walk two miles in the walks, before he came to the end. He also built an hospital at Stamford near his house of Burliegh, all of freestone, and gave one hundred pounds of lands to it, for maintenance of twelve poor men for ever, establishing many good ordinances and statutes, for the government thereof,

of, in hope to continue it to the benefit of the poor.

He gave also thirty pounds a year for ever, to St. John's college in Cambridge, where he was a scholar; he gave also some plate to remain to the house, for he entirely loved learning and learned men, whom he ever held in reverence and regard, ever using his credit and authority, to relieve and advance men of learning and desert, all which proved he was neither covetous or miserable. And for further manifestation of his honourable inclination, set into his estate at the time of his death, there shall you find proved that I have alledged; for his land was never above four thousand pounds a year, beside the land he gave to three young ladies, wherein he shewed his honourable kindness; for he bought part of my lord Oxford's lands, to give to my lord of Oxford's own daughters: his money was not above eleven thousand pounds, divided into many parts, whereof his eldest son had not one penny: his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds, divided into many parts, whereof a great quantity was given away in legacies: his household stuff was as mean as any nobleman's of reasonable quality, and this was the great wealth of so great a counsellor, living forty years together in his prince's favour, which infallibly doth prove, he was neither covetous to gain, nor miserable in his expences, though the vulgar sort may think his wealth greater, measuring his estate rather by that he might have,

have, than by what he had; but his temperance, life, his wisdom, justice, integrity, and honest actions, do more lively and truly disprove his envious detractors, by his notorious and worthy deeds, than can be devised by any words or invention of the most eloquent writers.

There was never any man living in his place, did more respect and esteem the nobility than his lordship; and where he found any towardness in a nobleman, it would as much rejoice him as if he had been his own son, and would do all he could to bring him forward; yet would slander report he hindered men from rising; but how true it is wise men may judge, for it was in the queen to take whom she pleased, and not in a subject to prefer whom he listed.

But, above all things, great was his care for the relief and maintenance of the poor soldiers, which made the rich captain say he loved not a soldier. It is true, he loved not a bad captain that robbed the poor soldier; but he took great care and good order for the soldier. His lordship was the first devised to apparel them, and procured their weekly lendings to be paid by pole, not before used; for the captain was wont to receive the whole pay for all his soldiers, who were then neither so well paid nor pleased, as by this new course, every man to receive it himself; and the reason why his lordship disliked a bad captain, was when he gave not the soldier his due, who sometimes starved for want, to the loss of many a brave soul,

ful, and the hindrance of her majesty's service.

He was most patient in hearing, ready in dispatching, and mild in answering suitors. When they had his denial, it was given with such gentleness, it pleased them as well as his grant. If a cause were bad he would hear it with patience, and reform it with temperance; if it were good, he would adjudge it so with good words; the worst sort and the best were answered with mildness, being neither offended at the one nor partial in the other, insomuch as in thirty years together he was seldom seen moved with joy in prosperity, or sorrow in adversity; his temper ever noted as one of his greatest virtues, until within three or four years before his death, when age, the mother of morosity, and continuance of sickness, together with multitude of business for his country, which not succeeding nor sorting to his desires, altered his natural disposition, and gave way to age's imperfections; but his anger was neither sudden nor furious; his words were but wind, so sooner spoken than forgotten, for he would presently speak fair again; and if he had angrily spoken to any of his servants, he would immediately speak fair, and as it were seek to be friends with them; and commonly he would soonest do for such as he had fallen out with.

When any attempts or services of importance were propounded, he would diligently consider of the probability and commodity of

success, which if he found good for the state, he was never quiet till they were expedited; but if there were found any apparent doubt or danger, he was sparing of his counsel to put such forward; he was slow in resolving, but speedy to expedite good resolutions; for there was none more forward in any action which promised honour or wealth to his country; yet would envy say, he hindered many services with his sparing; as though all resolutions of service and charge passed not from the queen and council, as well as from him. But it was his misfortune to bear the blame of the worst, and others to have the praise of his service and pains; yea, said some, but he might have persuaded the queen to do things roundly, and then had they succeeded happily. But to the wise it will appear, that he was neither able at all times to rule the queen or council, nor to direct them, and therefore not to be blamed for errors resolved by all, and not by himself only. And whosoever had seen his intolerable pains, would confess he had little reason to draw all business to himself, as was said of him; and though almost most part, of the business of state, passed his hands for a long time together, yet he sought it not; for it was a thing he ever complained of, to have so many things thrown upon him; he was commanded to many things he was loth to do, and would have refused, but for offending. How could it then be his seeking? If such as said so, or thought so, had seen his incessant

incessant toil and continual care, they would have rather pitied him, than think that any reasonable man, could desire such a laborious life.

There wanted not envy and spight, the companions of prosperity, to detract, and, as far as they could, to blemish the brightness of his virtues, though the chief ground of men's grudgings, were the originals of his praises; for when courtiers and others had suits to her majesty, which she ever referred to his consideration, he finding them neither reasonable nor lawful, would wish them to take honest and lawful suits, and then he would do his best to further them, as he did many; but otherwise he would plainly tell them, the queen might do what she pleased, but he would never recommend their suit: as some would sue for monopolies, some for concealments, some for innovations against law; all which he protested against, terming them cankers of the commonwealth; others to take leases and turn out the queen's ancient tenants, others to have such of the queen's lands as were not fit to pass from the crown, and many such like; which when he disliked or rejected, and that they had not even what they listed, then they railed on him, though he had done them never so many pleasures before.

He could never like or allow to put out any of the queen's poor tenants; he would never spare any man for the queen's debts, saying they deserved no favour; for their detaining

the queen's money made her ask more of her subjects; whereby her majesty was deceived, and the subject abused and oppressed. His care and course in getting in the queen's debts was such, as there was never so much sought in, as since he came in place. He would never pay a penny of the queen's money without her warrant, nor ever borrowed or took any money out of the exchequer for his own use, as many treasurers have done: neither did he owe the queen a penny when he died. He ever greatly commended the study of the common law, above all other learning, saying, that if he should begin again, he would follow that study. When he found any obstinately bent to take advantage in extremity of law, he would wish not to fall into such a tyrant's hands, telling them to remember the saying of the scripture. to do as they would be done unto. He was so careful in the administration of justice, as many times he favoured the subject in causes of the prince; as when one Mr. Throgmorton had a case in the exchequer, which was hardly recovered for the queen upon a nice point, he would not suffer the judgment to be entered, but with this condition, to enter the reasons, and that it was a case of the queen's prerogative, and not of law.

He did never raise his own rents, nor displace his tenants, but as the rents went when he bought the lands, so the tenants still held them; and I know some of his tenants paid him

him but twenty pounds per annum, for a thing worth two hundred, which he enjoyed during his lordship's life.

His care was not least, in preferring learned and good men to the queen, to be judges and officers; for they would often say, that honest counsellors and good judges and officers in courts of justice, were the pillars of the state, and that the queen and the realm were happy in this age, to have so many.

He would often say, he thought there was never so wise a woman born, for all respects, as queen Elizabeth; for she spake and understood all languages, knew all estates and dispositions of all princes; and so expert in her own, as no counsellor she had could tell her that she knew not. She had so rare gifts, as when her council had said all they could, she would find out a wise council beyond all theirs, and that she shewed her wisdom and care of her country; for there was never any great consultation, but she would be present herself, to her great profit and praise.

He was desirous to prefer good and learned men to be bishops, and ministers, affirming it to be the only foundation of the good and peaceable estate of a commonwealth, saying, that where the people were well taught, the king had ever good obedience of his subjects; and where there wanted a good ministry, there were ever bad people; for they that knew not how to serve God, would never obey the king. He would say there could be no firm

nor settled course in religion, war and government; for without a king could be no body: and, if all were equal, there should be no bodies to set the head upon: all must not be alike; some must rule, some obey; and all do their duties to God and the church, like good pastors and teachers in every function. He held there could be no government where there was division; and, that state could never be in safety, where there was toleration of two religions; for there is no enmity so great as that for religion, and they that differ in the service of God, can never agree in the service of their country.

His piety and devotion was such, that he never failed to serve his God before he served his country; for he duly observed his exercise of prayer, morning and evening, all the time he was secretary, never failing to be at the chapel in the queen's house every morning, so long as he could go; and afterwards, by his infirmity, not able to go abroad, he used, every morning and evening, to have a cushion laid by his bed-side, where he prayed on his knees, without fail, what haste or business soever he had: but, when he could kneel no more, he had then his book in his bed; and when himself could not so well hold his book, he had one to read to him; so as, one way or other, he failed not his prayers.

He would never miss sermon if he were able but to be carried out, though to his great pain and danger, nor ever failed the communion-day

at home but fit day in the month ; and commonly in his latter time, there was never a Sunday when he had been at a sermon, but he gave twenty shillings to his chaplain, to be bestowed on the poor, besides all his other daily alms, which were great. Besides his own devotion, his care was like for his servants ; for, if he found any negligent or absent from prayers, as many times he would purposely enquire, he would more sharply reprehend them for that than for any thing.

As he was, by nature, very kind and courteous, so was he to his friends affable and temperately kind ; ready to do them good when he might do it of himself, without prejudice to others, and that not frequently ; for, where he saw any presume of his favour, he was sure to have the less : and this was ever found in him, that, though he had been never so familiar or merry with any of his friends, if presently they had moved a suit to him, he would look more strangely on them, and give but a cold answer, till he saw it were fit for them to have and him to grant ; at last they had it, sometimes hardly, and sometimes with good words ; yet ever so as they had small cause to presume of his familiarity or courteous speech ; insomuch as they that were most familiar with him, were most afraid to move him in any suits ; which rule he observed to uphold his integrity.

To his enemies he was rather remiss than rigorous, being often used to say, " I know I

have some enemies who do more harm of harm than I do not I them ; God forgive the receiver, I thank God I never went to bed out of charity with any man."

He was of the sweetest, kind, and most tractable nature ; gentle and courteous in speech ; sweet in countenance, and pleasingly sociable with such as he conversed : his kindness most expressed to his children, to whom there was never man more loving ; and yet with such wise moderation, that he was inwardly more kind than outwardly fond of them ; and which is ever a mark of a good nature, if he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom. It was exceeding pleasure to hear what sport he would make with them, and how softly and merrily he would talk with them, with such pretty questions, and witty allurements, as much delighted himself, the children, and the hearers. Thus he was happy in most worldly things, but most happy in his children and children's children. He had his own children, grandchildren, and great-grand-children ordinarily at his table, setting about him like the olive-branches ; and there was no degree in blood, or consanguinity, but was to be found sitting at his table ; wherein he would many times rejoice as in one of God's great blessings. There were, proceeding from his own body, and his mother might see the fifth descent from herself. A happy mother, and a blessed son ; for, as the scripture

but, far, he had seen his children's
enjoyment and peace upon the land.

His temperate mind ever tempered all his
action in such moderate carriage of his great
fortune, that he liked and desired private
things, hating all pomp and glorious shows ;
for, if he might ride privately in his garden
upon his little moile, or lie a day or two at his
little lodge at Theobald's, retired from busi-
ness, or too much company, he thought it his
greatest greatness, and only happiness ; or, if
he could get any of his old acquaintance who
could discourse of their youth, or of things past
in old time, it was notable to hear what merry
stories he would tell. It was said of him,
that he could call to mind any thing he had
done, seen, or read ; for, when officers and
learned men often talked with him, either in
learning or causes past, he would so readily re-
member and repeat, either, that he heard or
read twenty, yea forty years before, as caused
many to wonder at his great memory, having
so infinite other things in his head.

He was of spare and temperate diet, eating
never but of two or three dishes, drinking
never above thrice at a meal, and very seldom
wine. He would many times forbear suppers
if he found his stomach offended ; and, above
all things, what business soever was in his
head, it was never perceived at his table,
where he would be so merry as one would
imagine he had nothing else to do ; directing
his speech to all men according to their quali-

ties and capacities, as he raised the more of his own; whereby he wanted no company, as he was able to keep company. His speech though they were merry, yet so full of wisdom, as many came rather to hear his speech than to eat his meat; for, even in his ordinary talk, he uttered so many notable things, as one might learn more in one hour's hearing him than a month's reading. He loved to be merry himself, and liked and commended all others that were of pleasant natures, being discreet with all.

His eloquence was his plainness in familiar common words, without affectation; wherein it was observed in him, a thing strange, that, in so plain terms as commonly he used, his eloquence was so excellent, as, that his spake was impossible to be delivered more rhetorically, clearly and significantly; easy to be understood and remembered; and yet beyond the eloquence of others, thought to be most eloquent.

His recreation was chiefly in his books, where, if he had time, he was more delighted than others with play at cards; or, if he could get a learned man to talk withal, he was much pleased. Books were so pleasing to him, as, when he got liberty to go unto his house to take air, if he found a book worth the opening, he would rather lose his riding than his reading; and yet riding in his garden walks, upon his little moile, was his greatest disport :

W^hen he came in he fell to
 but again, or else to dispatching busi-
 and this was all his recreation and course
 all his life. He seldom or never played at any
 game, for he could play at none. He would
 sometimes look a while on shooters or bowlers
 as he rid abroad. He was delighted to talk
 and be merry with his friends only at meals,
 for he had no more leisure; but he never had
 any favourites, as they are termed, nor any
 inward companion, as great men commonly
 have; neither made he any man of his coun-
 cil, nor any ever knew his secrets; some not-
 ing it a fault, but most thinking it a praise of
 his wisdom; for, by trusting none with his
 secrets, none could reveal them; nor opening
 himself to none, there was none could look far
 into him; yet was there some two or three
 who frequented his company at meals, more
 than the rest, with whom he would be most
 familiar and merry, using them exceedingly
 kindly; yet they neither knew his secrets, nor
 could, by their credit or familiarity with him,
 draw him to do any thing in furthering or hin-
 drance of any suit, or any person, if their
 cause deserved it not.

His best record was his experience, me-
 mory, and notable invention, even to as
 high perfection as could be in any man. In
 what learning was he ignorant? What office
 was there wherein he had not experience?
 What court of justice whereof he knew not
 the course? What province, county, city,

or notable place in England, have or not? describe? Nay, What noblemen, gentlemen, and their dwellings, matches, and pedigrees, did he not know? and could he sometimes describe every particular place, port, river, haven, park, and lordship; near a gentleman, better than himself that dwelt there. In what service, abroad or at home, was he ignorant, or not perfectly practised? He knew the state of all countries, the nature of all princes, their friends, foes, alliances, matches, and pedigrees. He was privy to their policies and practises, and often prevented their purposes. In weighty affairs of council he was most expert; in policy of peace, in directions of war, in provisions for soldiers and ships, in proceedings of parliament, in all courts of justice, in public speeches, or private conference.

He took great pains and delight in pedigrees, wherein he had great knowledge, and wrote whole books of them with his own hand; which greatly augmented his knowledge both abroad and at home. He observed all daily accidents, writing whatsoever passed; which he continued from the time he was nineteen years old even till he died; and, if his notes and writings were well perused and reconciled, there would be found notable matter for a good writer to ground an excellent story of this time.

His death was not sudden, nor his pain or sickness great; for he continued languishing

W^hen but ~~months~~ months, yet went abroad to take
~~him~~ but ~~so~~ all that time ; retiring himself
 from the court, sometimes to his house at
 Chesham, and sometimes at London. His
 increased infirmity appearing, was the weakness
 of his stomach. It was also thought his mind
 was troubled that he could not work a peace
 for his country, which he earnestly laboured
 and desired of any thing, seeking to leave it as
 he had long kept it. He contemned this life,
 and expected the next ; for there was no earthly
 thing wherein he took comfort, but in con-
 templation, reading, or hearing the Scriptures,
 Psalms, and Prayers.

About ten or twelve days before he died,
 he grew weak, and so driven to keep his bed,
 complaining only of a pain in his breast ;
 which was thought to be the humour of the
 gout, wherewith he was so long possessed, fall-
 ing to that place, without any ague, fever, or
 sign of distemper ; and that pain not great nor
 continual, but by fits ; and so continued till
 within one night before his death. At six
 o'clock at night, the physicians finding no di-
 stemper in his pulse or body, but assuring his
 life, affirming that it was impossible he should
 be heart-sick that had so good temper, and so
 perfect pulse and senses ; yet at seven o'clock
 following, he fell into a convulsion like to the
 shaking of a cold ague. " Now," quoth he,
 " the Lord be praised, the time is come ;"
 and, calling for his children, blessed them and
 took his leave, commanding them to serve and
 fear

fear God, and love one another." He prayed for the queen, that she might live long and die in peace.

Then he called for Thomas Belloc, his steward, one of his executors, and delivered him his will, saying, "I have ever found thee true to me, and I now trust thee with all." Who, like a goodly honest man, prayed his lordship, as he had lived religiously, so now to remember his Saviour Christ, by whose blood he was to have forgiveness of his sins; with many the like speeches used by his chaplains: to whom he answered, It was done already, for he was assured God had forgiven his sins, and would save his soul. Then he called his chaplains, with all the company, to say prayers for him, himself saying after them all the time they prayed.

He continued languishing thus most patiently, still having memory perfect, till twelve o'clock; lying praying to himself, saying the Lord's Prayer in Latin; whereupon some inferred he was popish; but God knoweth the contrary; for it was not strange to hear him pray in Latin, because he never read any books or prayers but in Latin, French, or Italian, very seldom in English. At twelve o'clock his speech began to fail him: then said he, "O Lord have mercy on me, my speech faileth me:" and so languishing till four o'clock, sometimes wanting, and sometimes having speech, he often said, O what a heart is this that will not let me die! Come, Lord Jesu;

It is one of death, Lord Jesu! and for
 praying to himself, as we might hear him
 speak softly: in which extremity you must
 imagine, the wailing of his children, friends,
 and servants, being twenty in the chamber;
 every one praying and devising what to give
 him, to hold life in him, if it were possible:
 but when they strived to give him any thing,
 he came to himself, saying, "O ye torment
 me, for God's sake let me die quietly." Then
 laying still, the standers by might hear him
 say softly to himself, "Lord receive my spi-
 rit; Lord have mercy upon me:" which were
 the last words he was heard to speak. So he
 continued speechless and senseless, laying still
 as it were in a sleep without pain, till it was
 eight o'clock in the morning, and then died:
 but, though many watched to see when he
 should die, he lay looking so sweetly, and
 went away so mildly, as in a sleep, that it
 could scarce be perceived when the breath
 went out of his body.

Now might one see all the world mourning;
 the queen, for an old and true servant; the
 council, for a wise and grave counsellor; the
 court, for their honourable benefactor; his
 country, and commonwealth, trembling as it
 were at one blow, to have their head stricken
 off; the people, widows, and wards, lament-
 ing to lose their protector; religion, her pa-
 tron; justice, her true minister; and peace,
 her upholder. His children bewailing the
 loss of such a father, his friends of such a
 friend,

friend, and his servants of such a master; men rather bewailing his loss, than hoping ever to find such another. Yea, his very enemies, who in his life-time could not see him, did now both sorrow for his death, and wished him alive again.

He was the oldest, the gravest, and greatest statesman of Christendom; for there was, before his death, never a counsellor left alive in Europe that were counsellors when he was first made.

He died on the fourth of August, 1598; and, if he had lived but till the thirteenth of September following, he should have been threescore and seventeen years old; whereof he lacked but a month and five or six days.

He was rather well proportioned than tall, being of the middle size, very straight and upright of body and legs, and, until age and his infirmity of the gout surprised him, very active and nimble of body. He was of visage very well favoured, and of an excellent complexion; insomuch as, even in his latter days, when he was well and warm, or had new dined or supped, he had as good colour in his face as most fair women. His state of body neither fat nor lean, but well fleshed. His hair and beard were all white, which heretofore, as it seemed, was of a brown colour; his beard of a reasonable length, rather well proportioned than too long or too big; fair, white, and comely; and, all parts respected together, I think there were few that knew him

but withal, he was one of the sweetest
 spirit, most well favoured, well mannered old
 image that hath been seen.

and yet what hath been said, it is left to the
 everlastingly judgment, Whether England ever
 produced a more able statesman, or greater
 patriot? And yet, in those times (such is the
 fate of ministers in power) there were some
 who, from their own ambitious designs, en-
 vied him the favour of his royal mistress;
 which he acquired by his profound knowledge,
 inviolable integrity, and superior merits.



M E M O I R S

O F

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, secretary of state in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was descended of an ancient and good family, and educated in the university of Cambridge, whence he travelled into foreign countries, whither he retired likewise during the reign of queen Mary, on account of religion.

In the year 1570, he was sent ambassador to France, where he served queen Elizabeth with great fidelity and address; but, by his vast expences in procuring intelligence in that critical period, involved himself so deeply in debt, that he was obliged to solicit for his leave to return home; which he at last obtained in April, 1572. His eminent abilities raised him to the post of secretary of state in January following. In 1581, he was again sent ambassador into France; and, in 1583, into Scotland, in order to advise king James VI. not to suffer himself to be misled by evil counsellors, to the prejudice of both kingdoms; and was received by that king with great



Thompson Sculp
Mr Francis Walsingham.

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great respect, though esteemed by his majesty no real friend, either to himself or his mother, Mary, queen of Scots.

In 1586, he founded a divinity-lecture in the university of Oxford ; the reader of which was to discourse on the fundamentals of religion and the holy scriptures, by way of common-place, that the controversies arising thence might be more particularly discussed. The same year, by his peculiar sagacity and management, he unravelled the whole plot of Babington, and others, against the life of the queen.

Soon after this, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the trial of the queen of Scots, having before opposed the advice of the earl of Leicester, who was inclined to dispatch her by poison, and had privately sent a court-divine to secretary Walsingham, to persuade him to consent ; but the latter persisted in his opinion, that such a method of proceeding was not only unjust, but likewise dangerous and dishonourable to their royal mistress. However, after the queen of Scots was condemned, and the warrant signed, on the first of February, 1586 7, for her execution, he, with Davison, the other secretary of state, was ordered by queen Elizabeth to write to Sir Amias Powlet, and Sir Drue Drury, in whose custody queen Mary was, to make her secretly away ; but those two gentlemen thought proper to decline so odious an office.

In

In 1587, the king of Spain having made vast preparations, which surprised and kept all Europe in suspense, not knowing on what nation the storm would break. Walsingham employed his utmost endeavour for the discovery of this important secret; and accordingly procured intelligence from Madrid, that he king had informed his council of his having sent an express to Rome, with a letter from his own hand to the pope, acquainting him with the true design of his preparations, and begging his blessing upon it; which, for some reasons, he could not disclose to them till the return of the courier. The secret being thus lodged with the pope, Walsingham, by the means of a Venetian priest retained at Rome as a spy, got a copy of the original letter, which was stolen out of the pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the key out of the pope's pocket while he slept.

After this, by his dextrous management, he caused the Spaniards bills to be protested at Genoa, which should have supplied them with money for their extraordinary preparations; and, by this means, he happily retarded this formidable invasion for a whole year.

However, after all his eminent services to his country, this great man gave a remarkable proof at his death (which happened on the sixth of April, 1590,) how far he preferred the public to his own interest; for, though, besides his post of secretary of state, he was
chancellor

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chancellor to the dutchy of Lancaster and of the garter; yet he died so poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him by night in St. Paul's church, lest his body should be arrested for debt.

He left only one daughter, famous for having three husbands of the greatest distinction: first Sir Philip Sidney; secondly, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex; and, lastly, Richard Bourk, earl of Clanrickard, and afterwards earl of St. Albans.

He was, at first, a favourer of the puritan party; to whom he offered, in 1583, in the queen's name, that, provided they would conform in other points, the three ceremonies, of kneeling at the communion, wearing the surplice, and the cross in baptism, should be expunged out of the Common-Prayer. But they replying to these concessions, in the language of Moses, That they would not leave so much as a hoof behind; meaning that they would have the church liturgy wholly laid aside, and not be obliged to the performance of any office in it; so unexpected an answer lost them, in a great measure, Walshingham's affectation.

He was undoubtedly one of the most refined politicians, and most penetrating statesmen, that ever any age produced. He had an admirable talent both in discovering and managing the secret recesses of human nature: he had his spies in most courts of Christendom, and

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and allowed them a liberal maintainance ; for his grand maxim was, That knowledge is never too dear.

He spent his whole time and faculties in the service of the queen and her kingdoms : of which account her majesty was heard to say, That, in diligence and sagacity, he exceeded her expectation.

He is thought to have had a principal hand in laying the foundation of the wars in France and Flanders ; and is said, upon his return from his embassy in France, when the queen expressed her apprehension of the Spanish designs against that kingdom, to have answered, " Madam, be content, and fear not. The Spaniard hath a great appetite, and an excellent digestion ; but I have fitted him with a bone for these twenty years, that your majesty shall have no cause to dread him, provided, that, if the fire chance to slack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of your fuel, which will revive the flame."

He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own, and even the queen's, presence very familiarly ; but took care to have them carefully watched. His spies constantly attended on particular men for three years together ; and, lest they should not keep the secret, he dispatched them into foreign parts, taking in new ones in their room. His training of Parry, who designed the murder of the queen ; the admitting him,
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under the pretence of discovering the plot, to her majesty's presence; and then letting him go where he would, only on the security of a centinel set over him; was an instance of reach and hazard beyond common apprehension.

The queen of Scots letters were all carried to him by her own servant, whom she trusted, and were decyphered for him by one Philips, and sealed up again by one Gregory; so that neither that queen, nor any of her correspondents, ever perceived, either the seals defaced, or letters delayed. *Video taceo*, was his saying before it was his mistress's motto.

He could as well fit the humour of king James of Scotland with passages out of Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, or Tacitus, as he could that of Henry, king of France, with Rabelais's Conceits, or the Hollander with mechanic discourses. He served himself of the court factions as the queen did, neither advancing the one nor depressing the other. He was familiar with Cecil, allied to Leicester, and an oracle to Radcliffe, earl of Sussex.

His conversation was insinuating and yet reserved. He saw every man, and none saw him. "His spirit," says Mr. Lloyd, "was as public as his parts; yet as debonaire as he was prudent; and as obliging to the softer but predominant parts of the world, as he was serviceable to the more severe; and no less dextrous to work on humours, than to convince reason. He would say, he must observe the joints and textures of affairs; and so
could

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could do more with a story than others could with an harangue. He always surprized business, and preferred motions in the heat of other diversions; and, if he must debate it, he would hear all, and with the advantage of the foregoing speeches, that either cautioned or confirmed his resolutions, he carried all before him in conclusion, without a reply. To him men's faces spoke as much as their tongues, and their countenances were indexes of their hearts. He would so beset men with questions, and draw them on, that they discovered themselves, whether they answered or were silent.

“ He maintained fifty-three agents and eighteen spies in foreign courts; and, for two pistoles an order, had all the private papers in Europe. Few letters escaped his hands; and he could read their contents without touching the seals. .

“ Religion was the interest of his country, in his judgment, and of his soul; therefore he maintained it as sincerely as he loved it. It had his head, his purse, and his heart. He laid the great foundation of the protestant constitution, as to its policy; and the main-plot against the popish, as to its ruin.”



Douvenx Earl of Essex

THE LIFE OF

ROBERT DEVEREUX.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, earl of Essex, a gallant soldier, and great favourite, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was son to Walter, earl of Essex, and Lettice, daughter to sir Francis Knolles, who was related to queen Elizabeth. He was born on the tenth of November, 1567, at Netherwood, his father's seat, in Herefordshire, when that noble person had attained no higher title than that of viscount Hereford.

In his tender years, it is reported, there did not appear any signs of an extraordinary genius in him; and one who was long in his service, and could not but be well acquainted with the secrets of the family, assures us, that his father died but with a very cold conceit of his abilities; which, some thought, proceeded from his great affection for his younger son, Walter Devereux, who, it seems, had quicker and more livelier parts in his childhood. However, when he breathed his last in Ireland, he recommended this son of his, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex; and to the care of William Cecil, lord Burleigh, whom he appointed his guardian.

Mr. Waterhouse, then secretary for Ireland, a person equally favoured by his father and Sir Henry Sidney, lord-deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his person and estate, which, though not a little injured by his father's public spirit, was, however, very considerable; and the regard shewn for his concerns, by the most powerful persons at court, was so remarkable, that Mr. Waterhouse made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man so strong in friends as the little earl of Essex.

His application on the behalf of the young earl, that he might be preserved in the possession of those honours which his father had enjoyed in Wales, and which were attended with power and influence rather than profit, had better fortune through the assistance of the earl of Sussex, who easily procured from the queen this mark of favour for a tender youth, whose father had deserved so well.

In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was sent to the university of Cambridge by the lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-college, under the care of Dr. Whitgift, then master, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He was educated there with much strictness, and applied himself to learning with great diligence; so that, his quality considered, there were few young men of his standing more distinguished, either for solidity of judgment, or for an easy and eloquent manner of expressing their sentiments.

Some

Some bold writers have asserted, that, as Dr. Whitgift rose in his preferments, he sunk in the esteem of his pupil, who, as they would have us believe, conceived an early dislike to bishops; but such as knew the world well in these days, and had the fairest opportunities of knowing the earl, assert the contrary, and that he continued always to treat the archbishop as his particular friend, and to respect him as his parent.

In 1582, having taken the degree of master of arts, he soon after left Cambridge, and retired to his own house at Lambſie, in South-Wales, where he spent some time in privacy and retirement; and was so far from having any thing of the eagerness or impetuosity natural to youth, that, instead of being displeased, he became enamoured of his rural retreat; inſomuch that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it.

His first appearance at court, at least as a candidate for royal favour, was in the ſeventeenth year of his age: however, when he came thither, it is certain, he could not have hoped, or even wiſhed, a better reception. He brought with him, amongst other ſtrong recommendations, a fine person, an agreeable behaviour, and an affability which procured him many friends, beſides the rare qualities of true piety, unaffected zeal for the public welfare, and a warmth and ſincerity in his friendships which entitled him to univerſal eſteem. He, by degrees, ſo far overcame that

reluctance which he is said to have shewn, to use the assistance of the powerful earl of Leicester, that, towards the close of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland; where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of general of the horse; and, in this quality, he gave the highest proofs of personal courage, in the battle of Zutphen, on the twenty-second of September, 1586; and, for his gallant behaviour upon this occasion, the earl of Leicester conferred upon him the honour of a knight-banneret in his camp.

On his return to England, it very quickly appeared, that the queen not only approved, but was desirous also of rewarding, his services; and his step-father, the earl of Leicester, being advanced to the office of lord-steward of her majesty's household, she, on the twenty-third of December, 1587, made the earl of Essex master of the horse in his room.

In the succeeding year, he continued to rise; for, when her majesty thought fit to assemble the army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in case the Spaniards had landed, and gave the command of it, under herself, to the earl of Leicester, she created the earl of Essex general of the horse: so that, from this time, he was considered as the favourite declared; and, if there was any mark yet wanting to fix the people's opinion in that respect, it was shewn, by the queen's conferring
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on him, shortly after, the most noble order of the garter.

We need not wonder that so quick an elevation, and to so great an height, should somewhat affect the judgment of so young a man; and therefore there will not appear any thing strange in the eagerness he is said to have shewn in disputing the queen's favour with Sir Charles Blount; who, in process of time, became lord Montjoy and earl of Devonshire; which, however, cost him some blood; for that brave man, taking distaste of somewhat the earl said of a favour bestowed upon him by the queen, challenged him, and, in Marybone-park, after a short dispute, wounded Essex in the knee; with which the queen, who did not love to be controuled in her actions, was so far from being displeased, that she swore a round oath, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, otherwise there would be no ruling him. However, she reconciled the rivals; and it will remain an honour to both their memories, that, professing themselves friends, they remained such so long as they lived together.

In the beginning of the year 1589, Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, had undertaken an expedition for restoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal; which the earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he was a spectator only. He followed the fleet and army therefore to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna,

prosecuted the rest of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which, however, was not attended with much success, at the same time that it exposed him to the queen's displeasure.

At his return, however, he soon recovered her majesty's good graces; nor was it long before this was testified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very considerable value; a circumstance in which his credit with the queen seemed much superior to that of all her other favourites.

He had now lost the support of his step-father the earl of Leicester, who died the preceding year; and who, though he was supposed to act the politician in preferring him to the queen's favour, (if, indeed, that was at all his work,) yet shewed the sincerity of his affection to him by several clauses in his will: notwithstanding which loss, he kept his ground at court; and, by caressing Mr. Cartwright and others, looked upon as puritans, seemed to affect becoming the head of that party, which adhered to the earl of Leicester while living.

About this time he ran a new hazard of the queen's favour, by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconsiderate, match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney; which her majesty apprehended to be, in some measure, derogatory to the honour of the house
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of Essex; and, though, for the present, this business was passed by, yet it is thought that it was not so soon forgot.

7 In 1591, Henry IV. of France, having demanded fresh assistance from the queen, tho' he had already a body of her troops in his service, she was pleased to send the earl of Essex, with four thousand men, a small train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy; where it was proposed that he should join the French army, in order to undertake the siege of Rouen. The French king, however, either through want of power, the distraction of his affairs, or some other cause, neglected to perform his promise, notwithstanding that Essex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that monarch's request, in order to have concerted measures for giving the queen satisfaction.

Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little consequence, Essex, to keep up the spirits of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them:—A circumstance with which the queen was much offended. He likewise made excursions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen; and the earl, exposing his person very freely in these skirmishes, came off indeed unhurt himself, but lost there his only brother, Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being two years younger than the earl.

He returned some time after, to give an account of the state of things to the queen; and

then came back to his charge; the siege of Rouen being formed, and the French king expressing a great desire to become master of it.

This winter service harrassing the troops exceedingly, provoked Essex not a little, who solicited king Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promising to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to storm the place with the English troops; which the king, however, refused, as being not at all desirous of having that rich place taken and plundered by the English in his sight.

Essex, still more displeased at this, and resolved not to continue in a place where no reputation was to be got, first challenged the governor of Rouen, Mr. Villars; and, upon his refusing to fight, left the command of the English troops to sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience; and then embarked for England, where his presence was become very necessary, his enemies having represented his behaviour in a very different light to the queen his mistress.

At this time he was exceedingly courted by very different sorts of people; for many of the young nobility, who were desirous of entering into the world under the patronage of some eminent person, preferred the earl; as well on account of his great affability to his followers, as because of his known interest with the queen. All the military men, that were not of very old standing, looked upon him as their chief, and one from whose favour they

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they were to derive preferment. The puritan ministers also, and their dependants, considered him as the successor to the earl of Leicester, and, consequently, as their protector. One need not wonder, therefore, that, having such power, he had so many enemies ; and, that these should gain advantages over him in his absence : but, upon his return, he triumphed for the most part ; and the queen, who looked upon herself as tied to him by former acts of kindness, seldom refused him any new marks of favour for which he was importunate in his demands.

We find him present in the parliament which began at Westminster, on the nineteenth of February, 1592-3 ; in which session, chiefly through his interest, Sir Thomas Perrot, who had married his sister, was restored in blood ; which had been corrupted by the attainder of Sir John Perrot, his father, who had been lord-deputy of Ireland : and in this session it was that the house of peers paid a very extraordinary compliment to the earl of Essex. The queen also, who had given him so many marks of her favour, added to them a new honour ; which was, at the same time, a very high testimony of her confidence, by causing him to be sworn one of the members of her privy-council.

He met, however, in this, and in the succeeding years, with various causes of chagrin ; partly from the loftiness of his own temper,

and partly from the artifices of those who envied his greatness.

A dangerous and treasonable book, written abroad by a jesuit, was published under the name of Doleman, with intention to create dissention in England about succession to the crown. This book, as the whole design of it was most villainous, so, from a superior spirit of malice, it was dedicated to the earl of Essex, on purpose to create him trouble; in which it had its effect.

But what chiefly grieved and broke his spirits, was, his perceiving, that, though he could, in most suits, prevail for himself, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his friends; as particularly appeared in the case of Sir Francis Bacon: which, though the earl bore with some impatience, yet it gave him an opportunity of shewing the greatness of his mind, by giving that gentleman a small estate in land, which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes.

Indeed, the earl of Essex was never wanting, upon any occasion, to his friends, as many of the writers of those times agree, and of which Camden gives us a remarkable instance in the year 1595, in his attending the funeral of Sir Roger Williams, an old experienced officer whom he had long encouraged and supported, though the roughness of his behaviour had exposed him to the dislike of Sir Walter Raleigh, and other considerable persons. But, what-

whatever disadvantages Essex might labour under from intrigues at court, yet, in times of danger, the queen had commonly recourse to his assistance.

Thus, in 1596, when the Spaniards, in the month of April, laid siege to Calais, and the discharges of their batteries were heard at Greenwich, an army was hastily raised, and marched to Dover, the command of which was given to the earl of Essex, the queen intending to have embarked these troops for the assistance of the French : which, however, they wisely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a little while, than see it rescued from them by the English, who would, presuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever.

The queen, however, taking advantage of that warm disposition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the war at a distance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a second invasion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, best part of the expences being born by the principal persons engaged in the enterprise.

The command of this army and fleet was, with joint authority, intrusted to Robert, earl of Essex, and Charles, lord Howard, then lord high admiral of England ; with whom went many of the most distinguished officers, both for the land and sea service, that were then in England ; the fleet, for its number of

ships, and for the land soldiers and mariners aboard, being the most considerable that, in those times, had been seen.

On the first of June they sailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind ; which changing, they took the first opportunity of putting again to sea. On the eighteenth of the same month they arrived at Cape St. Vincent, where they met with an Irish bark, which informed them that the port of Cadiz was full of ships, and that they had no notice whatever of the sailing of the English fleet, or that such an expedition was so much as intended.

After this welcome news they pursued their voyage, and, on the twentieth, in the morning, they anchored near St. Sebastian's, on the west side of the island of Cadiz, where the admiral would have had the forces debarked, in order to their immediately attacking the town ; which Essex caused to be attempted, but found to be impracticable ; and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, desisted. Camden, indeed, charges this rashness upon Essex ; but Sir Walter Raleigh, who is certainly better authority in this point, states it the other way.

It was then proposed by the earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at last, agreed to by the lord-admiral ; on which Essex, when he received the news, threw his hat into the sea for joy. The next day, this gallant resolution was executed with all imaginable bravery,

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very, and, in point of service, none did better, or hazarded his person more, than the earl of Essex, who in his own ship, the *Doe Repulse*, went to the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh, and offered, if it had been necessary, to have seconded him in boarding the *St. Philip*. The Spaniards behaved very gallantly, so long as there were any hopes; and, when there were none, set fire to their ships and retired.

The earl of Essex then landed eight hundred men at the Puntall; and, having first taken proper measures for destroying the bridge, next attacked the place with so much fury, that it was quickly taken; and, the next day, the citadel surrendered upon a capitulation, by which a great ransom was stipulated for the town. An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to spare the ships, and more might have been obtained; but the lord high-admiral said, He came there to consume, and not to compound: of which when the Spaniards were informed, they resolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly set on fire; their loss by which was computed at twenty millions.

The earl was very desirous of keeping Cadix, which he offered to have done with a very small garrison; but the council differed from him in opinion: so that, having plundered the island and demolished the forts, they embarked on the fifth of July, and bore away for the port of Faro, in Algarve, which they plundered

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plundered and destroyed. Thence they proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, and, being driven by a brisk wind out to sea, it fell under consideration, whether they should not sail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the plate fleet, which was carried in the *Negative*; and the earl's proposal, with two of her majesty's ships, and ten others, to make this attempt, was rejected likewise; which Mr. Camden attributes to the desire of some of the officers, who had made large booties, to get their treasure safe on shore. They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the earl would have proceeded to St. Andrea and St. Sebastian; but others thinking they had done enough, the fleet returned prosperously to Plymouth on the eighth of August following; and the earl, with his squadron, two days after.

He was very well received by the queen, and highly applauded by the people; but, as it was too common with him, not entirely satisfied in himself; which induced him to write, at a time when some faults were imputed to him, a kind of narrative of his exploit, and a censure upon other mens conduct; which gained him little credit, and did him less good.

Yet, whatever might be the sentiments of the wiser part of the court, it appears plainly that, upon his return from this expedition, the earl of Essex stood very high in the favour of the queen and of the nation; and, perhaps, it might have gained him an accession of fa-

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your with the former, if the earl had not enjoyed so much of the latter, or had seemed to value it less than he did : but, as he had little of dissimulation in his temper, so the warmth with which he discovered either his affection or dislike, exposed him continually to the sinister practices of his enemies, who were thoroughly skilled in those arts which he knew least about.

They insinuated, therefore, to the queen, that, considering the earl's popularity, it would not be at all expedient for her service to receive such as he recommended to civil employments ; and this they carried so far as to make even his approbation destructive to persons to whom they had encouraged and recommended themselves. A thing hardly to be credited if we had not the highest evidence to prove it.

It was a natural consequence, that the earl should behave to those he took to be the authors of such counsels with visible marks of anger and discontent ; and this conduct of his made him frequently upon bad terms even with the queen herself, who was a princess very jealous of her authority, and, in cases of this nature, bore but very indifferently with a man's expostulations. However, as well out of her natural kindness to him, as from a desire of shewing a just acknowledgment for his late service, she was pleased, on the nineteenth of March, 1597, to appoint him master of the ordnance by patent.

This

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This seems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raising the spirits of this great nobleman, who, upon a report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Coruana, for the invasion of Ireland at least, if not England, readily offered his service to the queen, and cheerfully declared, ~~As~~ Camden assures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatened England for a year together, or perish in the attempt. The queen, well pleased with this proposal, gave it all the countenance that could be desired, and caused a considerable fleet, though not so considerable as the action required, to be equipped for this service; and the earl of Essex was appointed general, admiral, and commander in chief.

We may guess at the interest which the earl had in the success of this voyage by the number of his friends who engaged therein as volunteers; and, amongst them of the nobility, were the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the lords Cromwell and Rich. His sanguine hopes, however, were, in some measure disappointed; for, sailing about the ninth of July from Plymouth, they met, at sixty leagues distance, with so rough a storm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for a month; in which time a great part of their provisions was consumed.

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While the fleet was thus laid up, the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh set out post for the court, in order to receive fresh instructions. The proposals made by Essex, even after this disappointment, were very bold and great; but, as Camden seems to insinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; so that the queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the commanders in chief, according as the season and circumstances might encourage or permit. The same historian, and almost all who have written upon this subject after him, speaks of an old misunderstanding between Essex and Sir Walter before they left England, which was productive of most of the mischiefs that afterwards happened; which there is good reason, however, to believe a groundless imputation upon both; for, amongst other papers of a very curious and instructive nature, which have since been published in a very valuable collection, are the letters of Rowland White, esq. to Sir Robert Sidney, at that time governor of Flushing; and we learn from him, that, in the beginning of the year 1597, there were great intrigues at court, where secretary Cecil was the most favoured counsellor, had long private conferences with the queen, and retarded or advanced mens suits at his pleasure. Essex, at this time, was in some discontent, though a great favourite likewise, and kept, or was said to

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to keep, his bed when he was not very sick; receiving frequent messages from the queen, and having also private audiences.

In the beginning of the month of March, Sir Walter Raleigh had several private interviews with the earl, in order to bring about a good understanding between him and the secretary, which he urged would have several good consequences; such as, making the queen easy, removing a great obstacle in the management of public affairs, and contributing not a little to forwarding the schemes concerted for humbling the common enemy. It is easy to see from hence, that there could be no pique between the earl and Sir Walter Raleigh; for if there had, Sir Robert Cecil was too wise a man to have employed him.

While this treaty was in negotiation, there was a competition for the office of warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Robert Cecil supporting the new lord Cobham, and the earl of Essex recommending Sir Robert Sidney first, and, finding that would not do, standing for it himself; upon which it was proposed that he should accept of the mastership of the ordnance; which he did. Soon after this, Sir Henry Leigh was, at the recommendation of the earl of Essex, made knight of the garter; and the earl concurred in promoting the lord Borows to the government of Ireland.

In May, the treaty was in a manner concluded: the earl, by the mediation of Sir
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Walter Raleigh, was reconciled to the secretary, and they concerted together all the measures preparatory to the island expedition: and from the same letters we learn, that Sir Walter Raleigh, who was entrusted with the care of victualing the fleet, had been remarkably civil to the earl of Essex, in what related to the provision of his own ship; and, when they were obliged to return by contrary winds, Mr. White represents their coming to London together, as the effects of their perfect intelligence, and does not give the least hint of any variance between them.

As soon as the fleet was repaired, and the land forces debarked, that, by the queen's command, were to remain at home, they sailed again from Plymouth on the seventeenth of August; having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spanish fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the ships they expected from the West Indies.* Camden blames Essex for appearing openly within sight of the Spanish coast, and thereby alarming the enemy; but Sir William Monson acquaints us with the true reason of the earl's conduct; which was, by making a show of a few ships, to draw out the enemy's fleet, it being found impossible to burn them in port. He also insinuates, that Sir Walter Raleigh kept at a distance from the fleet; which was another discouragement; but, from the best accounts we have, this also appears to be a groundless imagination. Sir Walter is afterwards said to have

have separated from the fleet by design, under pretence of repairing his ship; but Sir William Monson tells us plainly, that this separation was owing to an involuntary miscarriage in Essex himself. When they joined again at the islands, it appears plainly that Essex and Raleigh were very good friends notwithstanding there were some, on both sides, who laboured all they could to incense them against each other.

When they had refreshed at Flores, Essex commanded Raleigh to sail for Fayall, which he intended to attack with the whole fleet; but Sir Walter coming there first, and apprehending that the smallest delay might have prevented their design, very gallantly attacked, and very happily succeeded, in making himself master of the island before the arrival of Essex with the rest of the fleet. This gave occasion to Sir Walter's enemies to represent his vigilance and activity in the light of disobedience and contempt to Essex, which occasioned very high disputes; but, by the interposition of lord Thomas Howard, all things were compromised; Sir Walter excused what had happened to the earl, and the earl accepted his excuse. As the relations of this, which is called The Island Voyage, already published, are very exact, and in themselves larger than this whole life, it cannot be expected that we should enter here into all the particulars of this voyage; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that, notwithstanding
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the Spanish fleet escaped, and some other outward accidents happened, in which the earl was not altogether without blame, yet three ships from the Havannah, the cargoes of which amounted to near one hundred thousand pounds, were taken; by which, the best part of the expences of the undertaking were defrayed, and so the fleet returned to England towards the close of October. The earl of Essex immediately began to shew evident signs of deep displeasure, he retired to his house at Wanstead, and, under pretence of sickness, absented himself from the service of parliament then sitting. Camden reports, that his dissatisfaction arose from the lord admiral's being created earl of Nottingham in his absence, with some particular clauses in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble peer, Essex conceived threw some disparagement upon himself. And, by way of satisfaction, he was created earl marshal of England; on the twenty eighth of December, 1597; and took his place in parliament accordingly, on Wednesday the eleventh of January following.

It is generally agreed, that this noble person had nothing of dissimulation in his nature; and therefore, having obtained this new favour of the queen, he was perfectly well pleased, and very readily promised Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, who was appointed to execute a commission of great importance to the French king, that nothing to the prejudice of
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his interest should be done in his absence, without which promise the secretary would not have gone : and this he not only performed with the utmost punctuality, but even discharged the secretary's business, in his absence, with care and vigilance. But, in the month of May, 1598, Sir Robert Cecil returning to England with new notions in relation to the peace, there quickly arose fresh disputes in the council about the expediency of that measure, which was very earnestly, as well as eloquently pressed by the old and wise lord treasurer Burleigh; and as warmly decried by the earl of Essex, who wanted not very plausible reasons in support of what he said. The treasurer, at length, grew into a great heat ; inasmuch that he told the earl, that he seemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and slaughter. Essex explained himself upon this, that the blood and slaughter of the queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention : that he was not against a solid, but a specious and precarious peace ; that the Spaniards were a subtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more mischief in time of peace than of war ; and, that, as to an enemy, whose hands it was impossible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own. The treasurer at last drew out a prayer-book, in which he shewed Essex this expression, " Men of blood should not live out half their days."

As the earl knew well enough, that various methods would be used to prejudice the common

mon people against him, more especially such as in any degree got their living by trade, or thought themselves oppressed by the taxes levied for the support of the war, he resolved to write a vindication of his own proceedings, and to deliver his own arguments, with all the advantages that his own pathetic eloquence could give them; which he addressed to his dear friend Anthony Bacon, and which still remains a memorial of his great virtues and admirable abilities. About this time died the lord treasurer Burleigh; which was a great misfortune to the earl of Essex, since the remembrance of his father, the trust reposed in him by committing this his eldest son to his care, and the respect and obedience which had been shewn him by the young lord for several years, preserved in him a tenderness for his person, and a real concern for his fortunes: but, when that great counsellor was gone, those who hated the earl, acted without restraint, crossed whatever he proposed, stopped the rise of every man he loved, and treated all his projects with an air of supercilious contempt, except one, which they thought would be his ruin.

By the death of the lord-treasurer Burleigh, the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge became vacant; upon which, that learned body chose the earl of Essex in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a visit, was entertained at Queen's-College with great magnificence; and, as a

proof

proof of their affection, the room in which he lay was, long after, distinguished by the name of Essex-chamber. We may account this one of the last instances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced too high to sit at ease, and those who longed for his honours and employments, very busily studied how they might bring about his fall.

The first shock he had given him in the queen's favour, was on the score of the person he proposed to be sent over to Ireland, before he was drawn to have thoughts of going thither himself; and though, in appearance, he was reconciled and restored to the queen's favour, yet there is good reason to doubt whether it was ever recovered in reality; or, at least, to the degree in which he formerly held it.

An event happened much about this time, which shewed the sentiments the enemies of England had of this noble person, and ought therefore to have endeared him to such as had a real affection for their country: there was one Edward Squire seized and imprisoned for treason, and his case came out to be this; he had been a groom in the queen's stables, went afterwards to sea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken prisoner and carried to Spain, where he was persuaded by a jesuit to undertake poisoning the earl of Essex, and afterwards queen Elizabeth: for performing which he had poison given him in a bladder. He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pom-
mel

mel of the queen's saddle; got himself afterwards recommended to serve on board the earl's ship in the island voyage, where, in like manner, he poisoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either case. Upon this, the Spanish jesuit, suspecting the man and not his drug, caused information to be given in England against Squire, who, finding himself betrayed by his confessor, opened the whole scene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to dispatch both the queen and the earl; for which he was deservedly executed.

The miseries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increased; and, when proposals were made, in the queen's council, for sending over a new governor, with certain restrictions; Essex took occasion of shewing, that nothing had been hitherto so expensive as an ill-timed frugality; and, that the Irish rebels had been the only gainers by the restraint put upon the English deputies. Those who hated this noble person, were not displeased when they found him in this disposition, and, at length, took, in their turn, occasion from his objections, to suggest, that the total reduction of that island was to be expected from none but himself; which, at first, he declined: but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home; that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit; and that, by failing the expectations of his friends, he should gradually lose them, he

consented to accept that fatal preferment, and agreed to go over into that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and which his best friends foresaw would prove the gulph of his own. It is indeed true that he had a great army granted him, and that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very large, and his appointments very great; but these were obtained with many struggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promised, or seemed to promise, in order to obtain them; and, when all things were regulated, he was so far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had sought, and to a command which he meditated for the sake of greater things, that he seemed rather to look upon it as a banishment, and a place assigned him to retreat from his sovereign's present displeasure, rather than a potent government bestowed upon him by her favour.

The truth of this may be not only probably collected, but in some measure proved, from an epistle of his to the queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his going thither, of which there is a very imperfect copy in the Cabala; but that loss is now supplied, by the following full and correct transcript of that valuable and authentic paper, from the collections in the Harleian library. If we consider the earl's character, and how incapable he was of dissimbling, the weight of this evidence will be
the

the greater ; but, without taking in that, the very stile of the letter is such as will put all suspicion of artifice out of the case ; which will teach the reader what to think of the declaration of his treasons, that stands entirely upon this bottom, that he had plotted a revolution in England before he went to Ireland ; and desired the lieutenancy that he might put himself at the head of an army, and enter into a confederacy with the rebels.

“ To the Queen.

“ From a mind delighting in sorrow ; from spirits wasted with passion ; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travail, from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive ; what service can your majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands ? It is your rebels pride and succession must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison, out of my loathed body ; which, if it happen so, your majesty shall have no cause to dislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

“ Happy he could finish forth his fate
 “ In some unhaunted desert, most obscure
 “ From all society, from love and hate
 “ Of worldly folks, then should he sleep secure ;
 “ Then

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- " Then wake again, and yield God ever praise;
 " Content with hips, and haws, and bramble-
 berry;
 " In contemplation passing out his days,
 " And change of holy thoughts to make him
 merry:
 " Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a bush,
 " Where harmless Robin dwells, with gentle
 Thrush.

Your majesty's exiled servant,

ROBERT ESSEX."

On the twelfth of March, 1598, his commission for lord lieutenant passed the great-seal; and, on the twenty-seventh of the same month, about two in the afternoon, he set out from Seething-lane, and passing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the nobility, he was attended by vast crowds of people out of town; and it was observed, with a view, perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horse, but, by that time he came to Islington, there was a heavy storm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning. The like bad weather he met with at sea, so that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before the fifteenth of April, 1599.

He found things in that country in a state very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at least to any purpose, till he was well acquainted

acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found, likewise, that the new-raised men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were seasoned to the country, and well acquainted with discipline. These considerations hindered him from marching directly to Ulster, for fear Tir-Oen should make any advantage of his weaknesses; and the council desiring that he would suppress some disorders in Munster, he thought that a fair occasion of exercising his new troops, and did it effectually.

On his return to Dublin, that very day two months on which he arrived at his government, he wrote a letter to the queen, containing a free, fair, and full representation of the state of things in that country; which most admirable performance, pointing out all the steps that were afterwards taken, and by which his successor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland; but, of the contents thereof, not a syllable is mentioned in Cambden or the rest of our historians. This letter he sent over to the queen by his secretary, in hopes that from thence she might have derived a just notion of the state of things in that island; but it produced no such effect: on the contrary, the queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulster, in order to attack Tir-Oen, and repeated her orders upon that head in very strong terms. Before these arrived, however, Sir Henry Harrington, with some of the fresh troops, had

been worsted by the O'Brians; which so provoked Essex, that he caused the remains of those troops to be decimated; which, with the throwing a soldier over board in his last expedition, with his own hands, are the only instances of severity recorded of him.

When he received the queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulster, he was prevailed upon to enter the country of Ophaly, to reduce the O'Connors and the O'Moores; which he performed; but his troops were so harrassed and diminished thereby, that, with the advice and consent of the council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thousand men. In the midst of these crosses in Ireland, an army was suddenly raised in England, under the command of the earl of Nottingham; no-body well knowing why: but, in reality, from the suggestions of the earl's enemies to the queen, that he rather meditated an invasion on his native country, than the reduction of the Irish rebels.

At length, Essex, intending for Ulster, sent orders to Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that side, that Tir-Oen might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with such ill fortune, that the English, being surprised, were beaten, with the loss of their commander in chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men.

Upon

Upon the arrival of the succours which he had demanded, he marched, though with a small force, against Tir-Oen, in the latter end of the month of August; but, on the eighth of September following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the ford of Ballaclynch; and afterwards with counsellors on both sides, when he concluded a peace for six weeks, and so from six weeks to six weeks till May; provided that, on a fortnight's notice, either party might be at liberty to resume the war.

He was led to this by the weak and desperate resolution he had taken of returning to England, whither he had once some thoughts of transporting a body of his forces, but was dissuaded from it by his friends. However, upon receiving a sharp letter, directed to him and the council, from the queen, he determined to stay no longer, settled the government in the best manner he could, and, with a few of his friends, came over to England.

He arrived before any notice could be received of his design; went directly to the court at Nonsuch, and presented himself to the queen, on the twenty-eighth of September, where he met with a tolerable reception; but was, soon after, committed, treated with a mixture of kindness and severity, till, upon his absolute submission, he was brought before some of the privy council; severely reprimanded, dismissed from the board, suspended from the exercise of all his great offices, except

that of master of the horse, and committed to a keeper, Sir Richard Barkley, who was, not long after, withdrawn.

In the summer of the year 1600, he recovered his liberty; and, in the autumn following, he received Mr. Cusse, who had been his secretary in Ireland into his councils; who laboured to persuade him, that submission would never do him any good; that the queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and, that the only way to restore his fortune, was to find the means of obtaining an audience, in which he might be able to represent his own case, let that means be what it would. The earl heard this dangerous advice without consenting to it, till he found there was no hopes of getting his farm of the sweet wines renewed; then, it is said, that, giving loose to his passion, he let fall many vehement expressions; and, amongst the rest, this fatal reflection, That the queen grew old and cankered, and that her mind was as crooked as her carcase. Camden says that this was aggravated by some of the court ladies, whom he had disappointed in their intrigues. The earl of Clarendon seems to suspect the truth of it, but another great historian, who knew all the passages of those times well, is more clear in this respect. Those enemies, who had exact intelligence of all he proposed, having provided effectually against the execution of his designs, hurried him upon his fate, by a message sent on the evening of

of the seventh of February, requiring him to attend the council; which he declined. He then gave out that they sought his life, kept a watch in Essex-house all night, and summoned his friends, for his defence, the next morning.

The queen, being informed of the great resort of people of all ranks to the earl, sent the lord-keeper Egerton, the earl of Worcester, Sir Francis Knolles (his uncle by the mother's side) and the lord-chief-justice Popham, to know his grievances; whom, after a short and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lord Sands, the lord Monteagle, and about two hundred gentlemen, he went into the city, where the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and some other gentlemen, joined him; but his dependance on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother, the lord Burleigh, to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then king at arms, and proclaim Essex and his adherents traitors, in the principal streets, the earl found it impossible to return to his house by land; and, therefore, sending Sir Ferdinando Gorges before to release the chief-justice, who, for his own sake, thought fit to extend that order to the rest of the privy-counsellors; the earl, with his principal attendants, returned in boats to Essex-house; which was quickly invested by the earl of Nottingham, lord-admiral, with a great force; to whom, after

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many disputes, and some blood spilt, he and his adherents at last surrendered.

Essex was carried that night to the archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the earl of Southampton, and the next day they were sent to the Tower. On the nineteenth of the same month they were arraigned before their peers, and, after a long trial, they were found guilty, and sentence of death pronounced by the lord Buckhurst, who sat as lord-high steward. Upon this melancholy occasion, all that Essex said, was, "If her majesty had pleased, this body of mine might have done her better service; however, I shall be glad if it may prove serviceable to her any way."

After he was remanded to the Tower, there were great pains taken to draw from him very large and full confessions; which was the more easy, as he was truly and sincerely pious; and, after he was once persuaded, that his project was of a treasonable nature, he made a point of conscience to disclose all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himself; and, indeed, he did not appear either to design or desire it. Two reasons seem especially to have moved such as set on foot these practices, by which the honesty of Essex was rendered fatal even to his last breath; and they were such as became politicians, who had nothing but self-interest in view; which, if they could promote, they had not either consideration or pity
for

for others. The first was, that, by his proper confession, they might effectually establish the truth of his plot, increase the number of its circumstances, heighten the apparent danger of its consequences, and thereby furnish plentiful materials for proclamations, sermons, and declarations, which might remove from the unhappy earl all means of obtaining mercy; excite in the queen the utmost horror; and, at the same time, terrify her with dismal apprehensions, while the nation in general was astonished, and their affection for the unhappy earl cooled, or, at least, confounded. In all which, for a time, they gained their end. The other motive was, finding out evidence against the chief of his adherents, many of whom were of great quality, and some also of great fortune, whom they meant to let escape out of the briars, provided nevertheless that they left their fleeces behind them; in which they were likewise but too successful, rendering highly profitable to themselves that clemency which their royal mistress would have extended freely.

After drawing out of Essex all that he could sav, and thereby rendering death more desirable to him than life, the twenty-fifth of February was fixed for his execution; as to which the queen was irresolute to the very last; so that she sent Sir Edward Cary to countermand it: but, as Camden says, considering afterwards his obstinacy, his refusing to ask her pardon, and declaring that his life was inconsistent

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with her safety, she countermanded these orders, and directed he should die. There is a strange story current in the world about a ring, which the earl of Clarendon styles a loose report, that crept into discourse soon after his miserable end; yet a foreign writer of great reputation, gives us this as an undoubted truth, and that upon the authority of an English minister, who might be well presumed to know what he said; and therefore, in the words of that writer, we shall report it.

“ It will not, I believe, be thought either impertinent or disagreeable to add here what prince Maurice had from the mouth of Mr. Carleton, ambassador from England in Holland, who died secretary of state; so well known under the name of my lord Dorchester, and who was a man of merit. He said, that queen Elizabeth gave the earl of Essex a ring, in the height of her passion for him, ordering him to keep it, and that whatever he should commit, she would pardon him, when he should return that pledge. Since that time, the earl's enemies having prevailed with the queen, who besides was exasperated against him for the contempt he shewed her beauty, which, through age, began to decay, she caused him to be impeached.

“ When he was condemned, she expected that he would send her the ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promise. The earl, finding himself in the last extremity, applied to admiral Howard's lady,

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lady, who was his relation, and desired her, by a person whom he could trust, to return the ring into the queen's own hands. But her husband, who was one of the earl's greatest enemies, and to whom she told this imprudently, would not suffer her to acquit herself of the commission ; so that the queen consented to the earl's death, being full of indignation against such a proud and haughty spirit, who chose rather to die than to implore her mercy.

“ Some time after, the admiral's lady fell sick, and, being given over by her physicians, she sent word to the queen, that she had something of great consequence to tell her before she died. The queen came to her bed-side, and having ordered all the attendants to withdraw, the admiral's lady returned her, but too late, that ring from the earl of Essex, desiring to be excused that she did not return it sooner, having been prevented doing it by her husband.

“ The queen retired immediately, being overwhelmed with the utmost grief ; she sighed continually for a fortnight following, without taking any nourishment, lying a-bed entirely dressed, and getting up an hundred times a-night. At last she died with hunger and with grief, because she had consented to the death of a lover who had applied to her for mercy.

“ This melancholy adventure shews, that there are frequent transitions from one passion

to another; and, that as love often changes to hate, so hate, giving place sometimes to pity, brings the mind back again into its first state."

Sir Dudley Carleton, who is made the author of this story, was a man who deserved the character that is given of him, and could not but be well informed of what passed at court: but, whoever considers the age of queen Elizabeth, at the time when the earl of Essex first entered her presence, will find it difficult to believe the queen ever considered him in the light of a lover.

This countess of Nottingham was the daughter of the lord viscount Hunsdon, related to the queen, and also by his mother to the earl of Essex.

Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that something of truth there certainly is as to the queen's death being hastened by an accident relating to a ring, and by her reflecting on the death of the earl of Essex.

In the ceremony of her coronation, she was wedded to the kingdom with a ring, which she always wore, till, the flesh growing over it, it was filed off a little before her decease. About the same time observing, that the loss of Essex, and the confusion of his friends, had put her entirely into the hands of those who began to neglect her, and court her successor, she could not help saying in an excess of passion, " They have now got me in a yoke,
I have

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I have nobody left me that I can trust; my condition is the perfect reverse of what it was." It is also true, that a melancholy sense of this brought her to her end about twenty-five months after the death of Essex.

The manner of the earl's suffering death is so largely related in Camden, and others, that we shall not meddle with it here, farther than to observe, that, as many actions of his life spoke him a hero, so this last action shew'd him a true Christian, by manifesting he was far less careful of his body than his soul, and much more afraid of his sin than his punishment.

" On the twenty-fifth of February, 1601, which was the day appointed for his execution, Thomas Mountford and William Barlow, doctors of divinity, with ~~Wiston~~ the minister of the church in the Tower were sent unto him early in the morning to administer christian consolation to his soul. In presence of these men he gave thanks to almighty God from the bottom of his heart, that his designs, which were so dangerous to the state, succeeded not. He told them, he had now looked thoroughly and seriously into his sin, and was heartily sorry he had so obstinately defended an unjust cause at the bar. He thanked the queen she had granted he should not be publicly executed, lest his mind, which was now settled and composed, might be disturbed by the acclamations of the people, protesting that he had now learned how vain a thing the
blast

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blast of popular favour and applause was. He acknowledged how worthy he was to be spued out (these were his words) by the commonwealth, for the wickedness of his enterprize, which he likened to a leprosy spread far and near, and that had infected many.

“ The queen, in the mean time, wavered in her mind. One while relenting, she sent her commands by Sir Edward Cary that he should not be executed; but then remembering his perverse obstinacy, that he scorned to ask her pardon, and had declared openly that his life would be the queen’s destruction, she soon after sent a fresh command by Darcy, that he should be put to death.

“ Then he was brought forth between the divines to a scaffold erected within the courtyard of the Tower; near which sat the earls of Cumberland and Hertford, viscount Howard of Bindon, the lord Howard of Walden, the lord Darcy of Chiche, and the lord Compton. There were present also some of the aldermen of London, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who, if we may believe himself, came with an intent to make answer if any thing should be objected against him by the earl at his death; but others thought he came to feed his eyes with a sight of the earl’s sufferings, and to satiate his hatred with his blood. But being admonished not to press upon the earl at his death, which is the part rather of ignoble brutes, he withdrew himself further off, and beheld his execution out of the armory.

The

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“ The earl, as soon as he was come upon the scaffold, uncovered his head, and, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, acknowledged that many and great had been the sins of his youth ; for which, with most fervent prayer, he begged pardon of the eternal majesty of God, through Christ his mediator ; especially for this last sin, which he termed a bloody, crying, and contagious sin, wherewith so many had been seduced to sin against God, their prince, and country. He besought the queen and her ministers to forgive him, praying for her long life and prosperous estate ; protesting withal, that he never intended to lay violent hands upon her person. He gave God thanks that he had never been atheist, or papist, but had placed all his hope and confidence in the merits of Christ. He prayed God to strengthen his mind against the terrors of death, desiring the standers-by to join with him in a short prayer ; which, with broken sighs, and fervent affection of inward devotion, he presently uttered. Afterwards, the executioner, asking forgiveness, he forgave him : he recited the Apostle's Creed, and then, laying himself down, placed his neck upon the block ; and, having repeated the first verses of the fifty-first psalm, he said, “ In humility and obedience, I prostrate myself to my deserved punishment : Thou, O God, have mercy on Thy prostrate servant ; into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.”

His

“ His head was taken off at the third stroke, but the first took away all sense and motion.”

His character is very fully drawn by Sir Henry Wotton, very fairly by Sir Robert Naunton, very freely by Cambdea, and very finely touched by the masterly pen of the lord Clarendon ; neither are there wanting some useful touches in Osborne, Fuller, Lloyd, Winstanley, and other writers of less fame. It appears, from the comparison of these, that, in respect to the public, he was truly a patriot, had a great regard to his sovereign's honour, and no less zeal for his country's service ; he valued himself on losing a father and a brother, and in spending a great part of his substance in the cause of both ; his projects were high, but very honourable ; and the difficulties with which they were embarrassed, seemed rather to invite than to deject him. He was, however, too covetous of royal favour, and some say, not respectful enough to the royal person ; and, if there was any truth in this, his fault was inexcusable, the queen preventing his merit by her favours, as well as rewarding it by honours ; nor did he feel the sunshine only, but the dew of the court ; since, if the lord treasurer Buckhurst computed right, and he was no enemy to my lord of Essex, he received, in grants, pensions, and places, to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds ; but then, as he received all this from, he spent it for, the public ; and, if he

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he sometimes appeared covetous, it was, that he might be always generous ; for, to his honour be it spoke, learning never approached him ungraced, merit unrewarded, or want without receiving relief. His sovereign's favour he lost often ; the fidelity of his friends, and the affection of the people, never ; yet he sometimes trusted those who had been formerly his enemies, and was not fortunate in all his enterprizes ; which renders the wonder greater.

As to his person, he is reported to have been tall, but not very well made ; his countenance reserved ; his air rather martial than courtly, very careless in dress, and very little addicted to trifling diversions. Learned he was, and a lover of learned men ; wrote with that facility which is the true mark of genius ; with that closeness and perspicuity, which is the happiest fruits of learning ; and that noble simplicity, which is the characteristic of a great mind. Sincere in his friendship, but not so careful as he ought to have been in making a right choice ; sound in morals, except in the point of gallantry ; and thoroughly well affected to the protestant religion, of which he had very just notions, despising alike the meanness of superstition and the folly of infidelity.

THE LIFE OF
JOHN KNOX.

JOHAN KNOX, the principal director of the reformation in the Scotch church, was descended of an ancient and honourable family; and was born, in the year 1505, at Gifford, near Haddingtoun, in the county of East Lothian, in Scotland. He received the first part of his education in the grammar-school of Haddingtoun, and from thence was removed to the university of St. Andrews, where he was placed under the tuition of the celebrated Mr. John Mair; and applied himself with such uncommon diligence to the academical learning then in vogue, that, in a short time, and while yet very young, he obtained the degree of master of arts.

As the bent of his inclination led him strongly to the church, he turned the course of his studies early that way; and, by the advantage of his tutor's instructions, soon became remarkable for his knowledge in scholastic theology; so that he took priest's orders before the period usually allowed by the canons: and, from being a learner of them, began himself to teach, with great applause, his beloved



J. H. Rogers sculp.

John Knox.

loved science. But, after some time, upon a careful perusal of the fathers of the church, and particularly the writings of St. Jerom and St. Austin, his taste was entirely altered. He quitted the cobweb subtilty of the schools, and applied to a plainer and more simple divinity.

At his entrance upon this new course of study, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guiliam, a black-friar, whose sermons were of extraordinary service to him. This friar was provincial of his order in 1543, when the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, favoured the reformation; and Mr. George Wishart, mentioned in our life of Beatoun, coming from England, in the succeeding year, with the commissioners sent from king Henry VIII. Knox being of an inquisitive nature, learned from him the principles of the Protestants; with which he was so pleased, that he renounced the Romish religion, and became a zealous reformer, having left St. Andrews a little before, being appointed tutor to the sons of the lairds of Ormiston and Languidry, who were both favourers of the reformation.

Mr. Knox's ordinary residence was at Languidry, where he not only instructed his pupils in the several parts of learning, but was particularly careful to instil into their minds the principles of piety and the protestant religion: but this coming to the ears of the bishop of St. Andrews, that prelate prosecuted him

him with such severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with such continual dangers, he resolved to retire to Germany, in which the new opinions were spreading very fast; knowing th^t in England, though the pope's authority w^{as} suppressed, yet the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigour. But this design being much disliked by the fathers of both his pupils, they, by their importunity, prevailed with him to go to St. Andrews, about Easter, 1547; and, for his own safety, as well as of that of their children, to take shelter in the castle, where they might all be secure from the efforts of the Papists, and he be in a condition to instruct the young gentlemen.

Here he began to teach his pupils in his usual manner. Besides the grammar, and the classical authors, he read a catechism to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publicly in the parish-church of St. Andrews. He likewise continued to read to them the gospel of St. John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Languidry. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the castle, whereat several of the place were present. Among these, Mr. Henry Bolnaveis, and John Rough, preacher there, being pleased with the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to entreat him to take the preacher's place: but he absolutely refused; alledging,

alleging, that he would not run where God had not called him; meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Hereupon they deliberating the matter in a consultation with Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount, lyon king at arms, a person of great probity and learning, it was concluded to give Mr. Knox a charge publicly by the mouth of the preacher. Accordingly, Mr. Rough, upon the day agreed, preached a sermon concerning the election of ministers; and then addressed himself particularly to Mr. Knox, who was by, and said, "Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all these that are here present; which is this: In the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call upon you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation; but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of men, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire he should multiply his graces with you." Then directing his speech to the audience, he said, "Was not this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered, "It was, and we do approve it." Whereat

Mr.

Mr. Knox, abashed, burst forth into most abundant tears, and withdrew into his chamber.

His countenance and behaviour from that day to the day he was forced to present himself in the public place of preaching, sufficiently declared the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days afterwards: but, on the Sunday appointed, ascending the pulpit, he preached a sermon upon Dan. vii. 23---28; from which text he proved, to the satisfaction of his auditors, that the pope was Antichrist, and that the doctrine of the Roman church was contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. He likewise gave the notes both of the true church, and of the antichristian church, &c. of which he gives a full account in his history.

This sermon made a great noise; and the popish clergy being much incensed at it, the abbot of Paisley, lately nominated to the see of St. Andrew's, and not yet consecrated, wrote a letter to the sub-prior, who, sede vacante, was vicar-general, expressing great surprise, that such heretical and schismatical doctrines were suffered to be taught without opposition,

Upon this rebuke, the sub-prior called a convention of grey and black friars, to meet in St. Leonard's yard; where, by our preachers being convened, they were charged with several

several offences. Then the articles of the church were read, and the sub-prior entered into a conference with Mr. Knox, who, after that, disputed with one of the friars upon several controverted points between the Papists and the Protestants. Popery sensibly lost ground by the dispute; and the supporters of it found themselves obliged to take another method to maintain its reputation.

An order was passed, obliging every learned person in the abby and university to preach in the parish churches by turns upon Sundays, and, in their sermons, not to touch upon any controverted points. But Mr. Knox rendered this caution ineffectual, by preaching on the week days; when he took occasion to praise God that Christ Jesus was preached, and nothing said publicly against the doctrine he had taught them; protesting withal, that, if, in his absence, they should speak any thing which they forbore while he was present, that his hearers should suspend their judgment till it should please God they should hear him again. And he was so successful in his work, that all the people in the castle, and a great number in the town, openly professed the protestant doctrine, and testified it by partaking of the Lord's Supper, in the same manner it was administered in the church of Scotland, after the protestant religion was established by law, anno 1560. "And this," says a learned author, "in 1547, was, perhaps, the first time that the Eucharist was dispensed with

in Scotland in the way of the reformed churches.

Mr. Knox continued thus in the diligent discharge of his ministerial work, till July in that year, when the castle was surrendered to the French.

Mr. Knox, with the rest, was carried to France, and remained a prisoner in board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549; when, being set at liberty, he passed to England; and going to London, was there licensed, and appointed preacher, first at Be-
wick and next at Newcastle.

During this employ, he received a summons, in 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of Durham, for preaching against the mass.

In 1552, he was appointed chaplain to king Edward VI. and, the ensuing year, he had the grant of forty pounds per annum till some benefice in the church should be conferred on him. The same year he came into some trouble on account of a bold sermon preached at Newcastle, upon Christmas-day, against the obliquity of the Papists: and, about the latter end of the year, viz. 1552, he returned to London; and, being well esteemed by his majesty and some of the court, for his zealous preaching against the errors of the Romish church, he was appointed to preach before the king and council at Westminster a little before his majesty's departure thence.

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In this sermon he had several piercing glances against some great men, who were secretly well wishers to the old superstition, though outwardly they submitted to the then present establishment. But, notwithstanding that it must have been about this time, that the council sent to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to bestow the living of Allhallows, in London, upon him, which accordingly was offered him ; but he refused it, not caring to conform to the English Liturgy as it then stood. However, he still held his place of itinerary preacher ; and, in the discharge of that office, going to Buckinghamshire, was greatly pleased with his reception at some towns, particularly at Amersham, in that county ; and he continued to preach there, and at other places, some time after queen Mary's accession to the throne.

But, in February that year, he left England, and, crossing the sea to Dieppe, in France, went from thence to Geneva ; where he had not been long, when he was called by the congregation of the English refugees, then established at Franckfort, to be preacher to them. This vocation he obeyed, though unwillingly, at the command of John Calvin ; and he continued at Franckfort till some of the principal persons of his congregation, finding it impossible to persuade him to use the English Liturgy, resolved to effect his removal from the place.

In that view, they accused him to the magistrates, of treason, committed both against their sovereign, the emperor of Germany, and also against their own sovereign in England, queen Mary ; and the magistrates, not having it in their power to save him, if he should be required, either by the emperor, or, in his name, by queen Mary ; gave him private notice thereof : which he no sooner received, than he set out for Geneva ; where he arrived on the twenty-sixth of March, 1555, but stayed there only till August following ; when, resolving, after so long an absence, to make a visit to his native country, he went to Scotland.

Upon his arrival there, which was in the end of harvest, finding the professors of the reformed religion much increased in number, and formed into a society under the inspection of some teachers, he associated himself with them, and preached to them. Presently after this, he accompanied one of them, the laird of Dun, to his seat in the north ; where he stayed a month, teaching and preaching daily to considerable numbers who resorted thither ; among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country.

From thence returning to Lothian, he resided, for the most part, in the house of Calder, with Sir James Sandilands, where he met with many persons of the first rank ; viz. the maister of Erskine, afterwards earl of Mar ;
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the lord Lorn, afterwards the earl of Argyle ; lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, afterwards earl of Murray and regent of Scotland. With these noble personages he conversed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the protestant doctrine.

In the winter of 1555, he taught, for the most part, in Edinburgh. About Christmas, 1556, he went to the west of Scotland, at the desire of some protestant gentlemen, and preached in many places in Kyle ; and in some he celebrated the Eucharist after the manner of the reformed churches. He visited likewise the earl of Glencairn, at his house of Fynlaiston in the county of Renfrew, and administered the sacrament to his lordship's family.

From these western parts he returned to the east, and resided some time in Calder, where many resorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the sacraments.

From thence he went a second time to the laird of Dun's house, in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publicly than before, and administered the sacraments to many persons of note at their desire.

The popish clergy being greatly alarmed at this success of Mr. Knox, in protecting the protestant cause, summoned him to appear before them in the church of Black-Friars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May, 1556 ; and several gentlemen of distinction, among whom was the laird of Dun, resolving to stand by him, he determined to obey the summons.

But the prosecution was dropped when the bishops perceived such a considerable party in his favour. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day on which he was cited; where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; and in the bishop of Dunkeld's great house he taught, both before and after noon, to great numbers, for ten days.

At this time, the earl of Glencairn prevailed with the earl marischal, and his trustee, Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr. Knox's sermons. They were extremely well satisfied with his discourse, and proposed to him to write to the queen-regent an earnest letter, to persuade her, if possible, to hear the protestant doctrine. He complied with their desire, and wrote to her in May, 1556. The letter was delivered by the earl of Glencairn. The queen read it, and gave it to cardinal Beaton, with this sarcastic expression, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil?"

This gave occasion to Mr. Knox to make some additions in his letter, which he printed afterwards, with the additions, at Geneva, in 1558.

While our reformer was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, earnestly entreating him to come thither; and, having seriously considered this invitation, he determined to comply with it. Accordingly, in July, 1556, he left Scotland, went first to Dieppe, in France, and from thence to Geneva.

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He had no sooner turned his back, than the bishops summoned him before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they passed sentence against him for heresy, and burned him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. Against this he afterwards printed, at Geneva, in 1558, his appeal from the cruel and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland, with his supplication to the nobility, estates, and commonality of the said realm.

On the tenth of March, 1557, several noblemen, the chief promoters of the reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good posture, and being sensible of the usefulness of Mr. Knox for the purpose, sent him an express, earnestly desiring him to return home. This letter coming to his hands in May, 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but, having consulted with Mr. Calvin, and other ministers, they gave it, as their opinion, that he could not refuse such a plain call, unless he would declare himself rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his country. The congregation, upon this, yielded to his departure; and he wrote back by the messengers who brought the letter, that he would return to Scotland with all reasonable expedition.

Accordingly, having provided for his flock at Geneva, he left them in the end of September, and came to Dieppe, in his way to

Scotland, on the twenty-fourth of October. But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new consultations were entered into, and advising him to stay at Dieppe till the conclusion of them. This was also farther explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr. Knox, wherein he was told, that many of those who had before joined in the invitation, were becoming inconstant, and began to draw back.

Upon the receipt of these advices, Mr. Knox wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords who had invited him, concerning their rashness; wherein he denounced judgments against such as should be inconstant in the religion they now professed. Besides which, he wrote several other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and professors of the reformed religion of an inferior degree; exhorting them to constancy in that doctrine, and giving some useful cautions against the errors of sectaries, which grew up about this time both in Germany and in England.

In these letters he also enjoined them to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things; and such an effect had these letters on those who received them, that they, one and all, entered into an agreement to commit themselves, and whatsoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than suffer idolatry to reign; and the subjects be defrauded of the only food of their souls: and, that
every

every one might be assured the more of one another, a common bond, or covenant, was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh, on the third of December, 1557.

Mr. Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of 1558, and the same year he printed there his treatise, entitled, "The First Blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women." He designed to have written a subsequent piece, which was to have been called, "The Second Blast:" but queen Mary of England dying soon after, The First Blast was published; and he, having a great esteem for queen Elizabeth, whom he looked upon as an instrument raised up, by the providence of God, for the good of the Protestants, he went no farther.

In April, 1559, he determined to return to his native country; and, having a strong desire, in his way thither, to visit those in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Gospel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, to procure leave for that purpose. But this petition was so far from being granted, that the messenger, whom he sent to solicit that favour, very narrowly escaped imprisonment. Hereupon he made the best of his way to Scotland, where he arrived on the second of May, 1559; and was very active in promoting the reformation there, as appears from the second book of his history, which contains a full account of his conduct

till the Protestants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which transaction, in July, this year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil incognito at Stamford; but his journey being retarded by the danger of passing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards sent, in company with Mr. Robert Hamilton, another protestant minister, to negotiate these affairs between the Protestants in Scotland and queen Elizabeth.

When they came to Berwick, they remained some days with Sir James Crofts, the governor, who undertook to manage their business for them, and advised them to return home, which they did. Secretary Cecil sent also an answer to the protestant nobility and gentry, concerning their proposals to queen Elizabeth; which was so general that they were very near resolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr. Knox interposed with so much earnestness that they allowed him to write once more to the secretary. To this letter there was quickly sent an answer, desiring that some persons of credit might be sent to confer with the English at Berwick; and the same letter informed them, that there was a sum of money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cause; assuring them, that, if the lords of the congregation were willing to enter into a league with queen Elizabeth, upon honourable terms, they should neither want men or money.

Upon

Upon this answer, Mr. Henry Balnavers, a man well respected in both kingdoms, was sent to Berwick, who soon returned with a sum of money, which defrayed the public expence till November; when John Cockburne, of Ormiston, being sent for the second support, received it, but it fell into the hands of earl Bothwell, who took the money from him.

In the interim, Mr. Knox was chosen minister of Edinburgh in July; but, being obliged to attend the lords, while the agreement was in dependance, Mr. Willock was left in Edinburgh to officiate in his room.

The effect of these negotiations was, the sending of an army under the command of the duke of Norfolk; which being joined by almost all the great men in Scotland, at last a peace was procured and concluded between the two kingdoms, on the eighth of July, 1560.

The congregationers being freed by this peace from any disturbance, made several regulations towards propagating and establishing the new religion; and, in order to have the reformed doctrine preached throughout the kingdom, a division was made thereof into twelve districts, (for the whole number of the reformed ministers at this time was only twelve); whereby the district of Edinburgh was assigned to Mr. Knox. These twelve ministers composed a confession of faith, which was afterwards ratified by parliament. They also compiled the first books of discipline for that church.

In December, this year, Mr. Knox buried his first wife, Margery Bowes, an English woman, for whose loss he was much grieved. In January, the following year, 1561, we find him engaged in a dispute, concerning the controverted points of religion, against Mr. Alexander Anderson, sub-principal of the king's college at Aberdeen; and Mr. John Leslie, afterwards bishop of Ross. In March, 1560-1, Mr. John Spottiswood was admitted superintendant of Lothian by Mr. Knox. And the same year, on the twentieth of August, 1561, Mary, queen of Scots, arrived at Leith from France.

From her first arrival, her majesty set up a private mass in her own chapel; which afterwards, by her protection and countenance, was much more frequented. This excited the zeal of Mr. Knox, who expressed himself with great warmth against allowing it; and an act of the privy-council being proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, forbidding any disturbance to be given to this practice, under pain of death, on the twenty-fifth of that month, Mr. Knox openly, in his sermon the Sunday following, declared, that one mass was more frightful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the realm.

This freedom of speech gave great offence to the court, and the queen herself had a long conference with him upon that and other subjects; at which times he is reported to have acted

acted a part not quite becoming the humility of a subject to his sovereign.

In 1562, we find him employed in reconciling the earls of Bothwell and Arran; which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the most eminent persons in the kingdom, and how much interest he had with them. The same year, the queen, being informed that her uncle were like to recover their former interest at the court of France, received the news with great joy. Mr. Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of her relations would produce dismal effects, in prejudice of the reformed interest in these parts, he thought fit to preach a sermon, wherein he taxed the ignorance, vanity, and despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared. This, and other expressions, in reproof of dancing for joy, at the displeasure taken against God's people, coming to the ears of the queen, her majesty sent for him, and had a second conference with him.

This year also he was appointed by the general assembly, commissioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, several of the most eminent gentlemen entered into a covenant, which was subscribed on the fourth of September, 1562.

From the shire of Air he went to Nithsdale and Galloway, and had several conferences
about

NO BRITISH PLUTARCH:

about matters of great importance with the master of Moxwell; and, from this county he wrote to the duke of Chaterault, giving him cautions both against the bishop of St. Andrews and the earl of Huntley, whose councils he judged might prove obnoxious to the Protestants. At this time he accepted a challenge, made by an eminent person among the Papists, to a public disputation upon the mass, which continued the space of three days, and was afterwards printed.

In the beginning of the queen's first parliament, Mr. Knox endeavoured to excite the earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage to get the articles of Leith established by law; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half: and, after the bill was rejected, the parliament not being dissolved, he preached a sermon before a great many of the members, wheremin he expressed his sense of that matter with vehemency; and, at the close, declared his abhorrency of the queen's marrying a papist. This gave great offence to the court; and her majesty, sending for him a third time, expressed much passion, and thought to have punished him, but was prevailed upon to desist at that time.

The ensuing year, lord Darnley being married to the queen, was advised by the Protestants about court to hear Mr. Knox preach; as
thinking.

thinking it would contribute much to procure the good will of the people. At their desire he went, on the nineteenth of August, to the high church ; but was so much offended at the sermon, that he complained to the council, who immediately ordered Mr. Knox before them, and forbid him to preach for several days.

The general assembly, which met in December '55 year, in their fourth session, appointed Mr. Knox to draw up a consolatory letter in their name, to encourage the ministers to continue in their vocations, which many were under temptation to leave for want of subsistence ; and to exhort the professors of the realm to supply their necessities. He was also appointed by this assembly to visit, preach, and plant, the kirks of the south, till the next assembly, and to remain as long as he could at that work. He requested the general assembly, which met at Edinburgh, in December, 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to visit two of his sons, and for other necessary affairs in that kingdom ; and the members being informed, that some worthy and learned divines in England were prosecuted by the bishops, because they refused to use the ecclesiastical habits, caused a letter to be written, and sent by Mr. Knox, wherein, with great earnestness, they intreated, that they might deal gently with such ministers as were scrupulous.

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In 1567, Mr. Knox preached a sermon at the coronation of king James VI. of Scotland, and afterwards the First of Great-Britain. This year is very remarkable in Scotland, upon account of the great turn of affairs there by queen Mary's resigning the government, and by the appointment of the earl of Murray to be regent. The first parliament which was called by the earl met upon the fifteenth of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the estates, and Mr. Knox preached a very zealous sermon at the opening of it; and he was extremely afflicted at the regent's death in 1569.

In 1571, the Hamiltons and others, who had entered into a combination against the earl of Lenox, then regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a council was held by them in the castle on the fourth of May; where the laird of Grange, captain of the castle, proposed that they might give security for the person of Mr. Knox, which was also much desired by the town's people. The Hamiltons answered, That they could not promise him security upon their honour, because there were many in the town who loved him not, besides other disorderly people that might do him harm without their knowledge.

Upon this answer, which plainly shewed no good intention to Mr. Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr. Craig, his colleague, at their head, entreated him to leave the place;
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in compliance with their requests, he left Edinburgh on the fifth of May; he went first to Abbotshall in Fife, and thence to St. Andrew's, where he remained till the twenty-third of August 1572.

This year there was a convention of the ministers at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of episcopacy should be introduced into the church, which was zealously opposed by our reformer. The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they sent two of their number to St. Andrews, to invite Mr. Knox to return to them, and to ask his advice about the choice of another minister to assist him during the time of the troubles. The superintendant of Lothian was with them, when they presented the letter; which, when Mr. Knox had perused, he consented to return, upon this condition, that he should not be desired in any sort to cease speaking against the treasonable dealings of those who held out the castle of Edinburgh; and this he desired them to signify to the whole brethren, lest they should afterwards repent; and, after his return, he repeated these words more than once, to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit; they answered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but desired him to speak according to his conscience, as in former times. They also requested his advice upon the choice of a minister; and, after
some

some debates, they agreed upon Mr. James Lawson, sub-principal of the king's college at Aberdeen.

Mr. Knox left St. Andrew's on the seventeenth of August, and came to ⁴Leith on the twenty-third. Upon the last day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he desired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but by an hundred persons; which was granted: after which Mr. Knox continued to preach in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength; but his health received a great shock from the news of the massacre of the protestants at Paris, about this time. However, he introduced it into his next sermon, with his usual denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he desired the French ambassador, monsieur La Crocque, might be acquainted with. On sunday November the ninth 1572, he admitted Mr. Lawson a minister of Edinburgh. But his voice was so weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock; he praised God, that had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his graces to him a thousand-fold above that which he had, if it were his pleasure, and ended with pronouncing the blessing.

From this day he hastened to his end. Upon the eleventh, he was seized with a violent cough

cough and great pains of the body; so that upon the thirteenth, he was obliged to give over his ordinary reading of the scriptures. During his sickness he was visited occasionally by the earl of Morton, and others of the principal nobility and gentry. But his decay still increasing, he resigned his breath on Monday the twenty fourth of November 1572, with great piety, resignation, and trust in God; such as well became the principal director of the reformation of religion in Scotland. He was interred on the twenty sixth; in the kirk-yard of St. Giles's, the corpse being attended by several lords who were then in Edinburgh, and particularly the earl of Morton, that day chosen regent, who, as soon as he was laid in his grave, said, "There lies a man who never in his life feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dug and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in a special manner, when his very life was sought.

As to his character, he was one of those extraordinary persons, of whom few, if any, are observed to speak with sufficient temper. All that we find of him in this way, are either extravagant encomiums on one hand, or senseless invectives on the other. We shall therefore conclude what relates thereto in the words of Mr. Stripe, who hath dealt candidly with his memory; and having spoken of his residence in England and Geneva, closes his account

count thus: " In May 1559, he returned to his own country to forward the reformation, where he lived to the day of his death; but his violent methods and disloyal behaviour towards the queen of Scots, is generally condemned. As to his family, he was twice married; first, to Margery Bowes, an Englishwoman; by whom he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleagan, and, we must not omit to mention that the ingenious Mr. Robertson, draws a favourable picture of John Knox, and attributes most of the exceptionable parts of his character to the spirit of the times he lived in.



1.



Edmund Spencer,

THE LIFE OF

EDMUND SPENCER.

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EDMUND SPENCER was born in London, and educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge. The accounts of the birth and family of this great man are but obscure and imperfect, and at his first setting out into life, his fortune and interest seem to have been very inconsiderable. After he had some time continued at the college, and laid that foundation of learning, which, joined to his natural genius, qualified him to rise to so great an excellency, he stood for a fellowship, in competition with Mr. Andrews, a gentleman in holy orders, and afterwards lord bishop of Winchester, in which he was unsuccessful. This disappointment, joined with the narrowness of his circumstances,, forced him to quit the university ; and we find him next residing at the house of a friend in the north, where he fell in love with his Rosalind, whom he finely celebrates in his pastoral poems, and of whose cruelty he hath written such pathetic complaints. It is probable that about this time Spencer's genius began first to distinguish itself ; for, *The Shepherds Calendar*, which is so full of his unprosperous passion for Rosalind,

was amongst the first of his works of note, and the supposition is strengthened, by the consideration of poetry's being frequently the offspring of love and retirement. This work he addressed, by a short dedication, to the Mæcenæ of his age, the immortal Sir Philip Sidney. This gentleman was now in the highest reputation, both for wit and gallantry, and the most popular of all the courtiers of his age; and, as he was himself a writer, and especially excelled in the fabulous or inventive part of poetry; it is no wonder he was struck with our author's genius, and became sensible of his merit. A story is told of him by Mr. Hughes, which I shall present to the reader, as it serves to illustrate the great worth and penetration of Sidney, as well as the excellent genius of Spencer. It is said that our poet was a stranger to this gentleman, when he began to write his *Fairy Queen*, and that he took occasion to go to Leicester-house, and introduce himself, by sending in to Mr. Sidney a copy of the ninth canto of the first book of that poem. Sidney was much surprised with the description of despair in that canto, and is said to have shewn an unusual kind of transport on the discovery of so new and uncommon a genius. After he had read some stanzas, he turned to his steward, and bid him give the person who brought those verses fifty pounds; but upon reading the next stanza, he ordered the sum to be ~~doubled~~. The steward was no less surprised than his master, and
 thought

thought it his duty to make some delay in executing so sudden and lavish a bounty; but upon reading one stanza more, Mr. Sidney raised the gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the steward to give it immediately, lest as he read further he might be tempted to give away his whole estate. From this time he admitted the author to his acquaintance and conversation, and prepared the way for his being known and received at court. Though this seemed a promising omen, to be thus introduced to court, yet he did not instantly reap any advantage from it. He was indeed created poet laureat to queen Elizabeth, but he for some time wore a barren laurel, and possessed the place without the pension. Lord-treasurer Burleigh, under whose displeasure Spencer laboured, took care to intercept the queen's favours to this unhappy great man. As misfortunes have the most influence on elegant and polished minds, so it was no wonder that Spencer was much depressed by the cold reception he met with from the great; a circumstance which not a little detracts from the merit of the ministers then in power: for I know not if all the political transactions of Burleigh are sufficient to counterballance the infamy affixed on his name, by prosecuting resentment against distressed merit, and keeping him, who was the ornament of the times, as much distant as possible from the approach of competence.

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These discouragements greatly sunk our author's spirit, and accordingly we find him pouring out his heart, in complaints of so injurious and undeserved a treatment; which, probably, would have been less' unfortunate to him, if his noble patron, Sir Philip Sidney, had not been so much absent from court, as by his employments abroad, and the share he had in the Low-Country wars, he was obliged to be. In a poem, called, *The Ruins of Time*, which was written some time after Sidney's death, the author seems to allude to the discouragement I have mentioned, in the following stanza:

- “ O grief of griefs, O gall of all good hearts !
 “ To see that virtue should despised be,
 “ Of such as first were rais'd for virtue's parts,
 “ And now broad-spreading like an aged
 tree,
 “ Let none shoot up that nigh them planted
 be ;
 “ © let not these, of whom the muse is scorned,
 “ Alive, or dead, be by the muse adorned.

These lines are certainly meant to reflect on Burleigh for neglecting him, and the lord-treasurer afterwards conceived a hatred towards him for the satire he apprehended was levelled at him, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*. In this poem, the author has, in the most lively manner, pointed out the misfortune of depending on court-favours. The lines which follow are, among others, very remarkable.

“ Full

EDMUND SPENCER. 121

- “ Full little knowest thou, that hast not try’d,
- “ What hell it is in suing long to bide,
- “ To close good days, that nights be better spent,
- “ To waste long nights in pensive discontent ;
- “ To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
- “ To find in hope, to pine with fear and sorrow ;
- “ To have thy prince’s grace, yet want her
peers,
- “ To have thy asking, yet wait many years.
- “ To fret thy soul with crosses, and with care,
- “ To eat thy heart, through comfortless de-
spair ;
- “ To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
- “ To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.”

As this was very much the author’s case, it probably was the particular passage in that poem which gave offence ; for as Hughes very elegantly observes, even the sighs of a miserable man, are sometimes resented as an affront, by him who is the occasion of them. There is a little story, which seems founded on the grievance just now mentioned, and is related by some as a matter of fact commonly reported at that time. It is said, that upon his presenting some poems to the queen, she ordered him a gratuity of one hundred pounds, but the lord-treasurer Burleigh objecting to it, said, with some scorn, of the poet, of whose merit he was totally ignorant, “ What, all this for a song ? ” The queen replied, “ Then give him what is reason.” Spencer for some time waited, but had the mortification to find

himself disappointed of her majesty's bounty. Upon this he took an opportunity to present a paper to queen Elizabeth, in the manner of a petition, in which he reminded her of the order she had given, in the following lines :

“ I was promis'd on a time
 “ 'To have reason for my rhyme,
 “ From that time, unto this season,
 “ I receiv'd nor rhyme, nor reason.

This paper produced the intended effect, and the queen, after sharply reproving the treasurer, immediately directed the payment of the hundred pounds she had first ordered. In the year 1579 he was sent abroad by the earl of Leicester, as appears by a copy of Latin verses, dated from Leicester-house, and addressed to his friend Mr. Hervey ; but Mr. Hughes has not been able to determine in what service he was employed.

When the lord Grey of Wilton was chosen deputy of Ireland, Spencer was recommended to him as secretary. This drew him over to another kingdom, and settled him in a scene of life very different from what he had formerly known, but, that he understood, and discharged his employment with skill and capacity, appears sufficiently by his discourse on the state of Ireland, in which there are many solid and judicious remarks, that shew him no less qualified for the business of the state, than for the entertainment of the muses. His life
 was

was now freed from the difficulties under which it had hitherto struggled, and his services to the crown received a reward of a grant from queen Elizabeth of three thousand acres of land in the county of Cork. His house was at Kilcolman, and the river Mulla, which he has, more than once, so finely introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds. Much about this time he contracted an intimate friendship with the great and learned Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then a captain under the lord Grey. The poem of Spencer's, called, *Colin Clout's come home again*, in which Sir Walter Raleigh is described under the name of the Shepherd of the Ocean, is a beautiful memorial of this friendship, which took its rise from a similarity of taste in the polite arts, and which he agreeably describes, with a softness and delicacy peculiar to him. Sir Walter afterward promoted him in queen Elizabeth's esteem, through whose recommendations she read his writings.

He now fell in love a second time, with a merchant's daughter, in which, says Mr. Cooper, author of *The Muse's Library*, he was more successful than in his first amour. He wrote upon this occasion a beautiful epithalamium, with which he presented the lady on the bridal day, and has consigned that day and her to immortality. In this pleasant, easy situation our excellent poet finished the celebrated poem of *The Fairy Queen*, which was begun and continued at different intervals

of time, and of which he at first published only the three first books; to these were added three more, in a following edition, but the six last books (excepting the two cantos of mutability) were unfortunately lost by his servant, whom he had in haste sent before him into England; for though he passed his life for some time very serenely here, yet a train of misfortunes still pursued him, and in the rebellion of the earl of Desmond he was plundered and deprived of his estate. This distress forced him to return to England, where, for the want of his noble patron, Sir Philip Sidney, he was plunged into new calamities, as that gallant hero died of the wounds he had received at Zutphen. It is said by Mr. Hughes, that Spencer survived his patron about twelve years, and died the same year with his powerful enemy the lord Burleigh, 1598. He was buried, says he, in Westminster-Abbey, near the famous Geoffery Chaucer, as he had desired; his obsequies were attended by the poets of that time, and others, who paid the last honours to his memory. Several copies of verses were thrown after him into his grave, and his monument was erected at the charge of the famous Robert Devereux, the unfortunate earl of Essex.

This is the account given by the editor of the death of Spencer, but there is some reason to believe that he speaks only upon imagination, as he has produced no authority to support his opinion, especially as I find in a
book

book of great reputation, another opinion, delivered upon probable grounds. The ingenious Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, a noble wit of Scotland, had an intimate correspondence with all the geniuses of his time who resided at London, particularly the famous Ben Johnson, who had so high an opinion of Mr. Drummond's abilities, that he took a journey into Scotland in order to converse with him, and stayed some time at his house at Hawthornden. After Ben Johnson departed, Mr. Drummond, careful to retain what passed between them, wrote down the heads of their conversation; which he published amongst his poems and History of the Five James's, kings of Scotland. Amongst other particulars there is this: "Ben Johnson told me that Spencer's goods were robbed by the Irish in Desmond's rebellion, his house and a little child of his burnt, and he and his wife nearly escaped; that he afterwards died in King-street by absolute want of bread; and, that he refused twenty pieces sent him by the earl of Essex, and gave this answer to the person who brought them, That he was sure he had no time to spend them." Mr. Drummond's works, from whence I extracted the above, are printed in a thin quarto, and may be seen at Mr. Wilson's, at Plato's head in the Strand. I have been thus particular in the quotation, that no one may suspect such extraordinary circumstances to be advanced upon imagination. In the inscription on his tomb-

in Westminster-Abbey, it is said he was born in the year 1510, and died in 1596; Cambrden says 1598: but in regard to his birth they must both be mistaken, for it is by no means probable he was born so early as 1, 10, if we may judge by the remarkable circumstance of his standing for a fellowship in competition with Mr. Andrews, who was not born, according to Hughes, till 1555. Besides, if this account of his birth be true, he must have been sixty years old when he first published his Shepherd's Calendar, an age not very proper for love; and in this case it is no wonder that the beautiful Rosalind slighted his addresses; and he must have been seventy years old when he entered into business under lord Grey, who was created Deputy of Ireland in 1580: for which reasons we may fairly conclude, that the inscription is false, either by the error of the carver, or perhaps it was put on when the monument was repaired. There are very few particulars of this great poet, and it must be a mortification to all lovers of the muses, that no one can be found concerning the life of one, who was the greatest ornament of his profession. No writer ever found a nearer way to the heart than he, and his verses have a peculiar happiness of recommending the author to our friendship, as well as raising our admiration; one cannot read him without fancying ones self transported into fairy-land, and there conversing with the graces in that enchanted region. In elegance
of

of thinking and fertility of imagination, few of our English authors have approached him, and no writers have such power as he to awake the spirit of poetry in others. Cowley owns that he derived inspiration from him; and I have heard the celebrated Mr. James Thompson, the author of the Seasons, and justly esteemed one of our best descriptive poets, say, that he formed himself upon Spencer; and how closely he pursued his model, and how nobly he has imitated him, whoever reads his *Castle of Indolence with Taste*, will readily confess. Mr. Addison, in his *Characters of the English poets*, addressed to Mr. Sacheverel, thus speaks of Spencer :

“ Old Spencer next, warm’d with poetic rage,
 “ In antient tales amus’d a barbarous age;
 “ An age, that yet uncultivate and rude,
 “ Where’er the poet’s fancy led, pursu’d
 “ Thro’ pathless fields, and unfrequented floods,
 “ To dens of dragons, and enchanted woods.
 “ But now the millic tale, that pleas’d of yore,
 “ Can charm an understanding age no more;
 “ The long-spun allegories, fulsome grow,
 “ While the dull moral lies too plain below.
 “ We view well pleased at distance, all the
 fights,
 “ Of arms, and palisies, battles, fields, and
 fights,
 “ And damies in distress, and courteous
 knights.

“ But when we look too near, the shades decay,
 “ And all the pleasing landscape fades away.”

It is agreed on all hands, that the distresses of our author helped to shorten his days ; and indeed, when his extraordinary merit is considered, he had the hardest measure of any of our poets. It appears from different accounts, that he was of an amiable, sweet disposition, humane and generous in his nature. Besides the *Fairy Queen*, we find he had written several other pieces, of which we can only trace out the titles. Amongst these the most considerable were nine comedies, in imitation of the comedies of his admired Ariosto, inscribed with the names of the nine muses. The rest which we have mentioned in his letters, and those of his friends, are *His Dying Pelicane*, his *Pageants*, *Stommata*, *Dudleyana*, *The Canticles paraphrased*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Seven Psalms*, *House of our Lord*, *Sacrifice of a Sinner*, *Purgatory*, *A Seven Night's Slumber*, *The Court of Cupid and Hell of Lovers*. It is likewise said he had written a treatise in prose, called, *The English Poet* ; as for the *epithalamium*, *Thamesis*, and his *Dreams*, both mentioned by himself in one of his letters, Mr. Hughes thinks they are still preserved, though under different names. It appears from what is said of the *Dreams*, by his friend Mr. Hervey, that they were an imitation of Petrarch's *Visions*. Produce authorities in

in favour of Spencer, as a poet, I should reckon an affront to his memory; that is a tribute I shall only pay to inferior wits, whose highest honour it is to be mentioned with respect, by geniuses of a superior class.

The works of Spencer will never perish, though he has introduced unnecessarily many obsolete terms into them, there is a flow of poetry, an elegance of sentiment, a fund of imagination, and an enchanting enthusiasm, which will ever secure him the applauses of posterity, while any lovers of poetry remain. We find little account of the family which Spencer left behind him, only that in a few particulars of his life, prefixed to the last folio edition of his works, it is said, that his great-grandson, Hugolin Spencer, after the restoration of king Charles II. was restored by the court of claims to so much of the lands as could be found to have been his ancestor's. There is another remarkable passage, of which, says Hughes, I can give the reader much better assurance: that a person came over from Ireland, in king William's time, to solicit the same affair, and brought with him letters of recommendation, as a descendent of Spencer. His name procured him a favourable reception, and applied himself particularly to Mr. Congreve, by whom he was generously recommended to the favour of the earl of Halifax, who was then at the head of the treasury; and by that means obtained his suit. This man was somewhat advanced in years, and

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might be the same mentioned before, who had possibly recovered only some part of his estate at first, or had been disturbed in the possession of it. He could give no account of the works of his ancestor's, which are wanting, and which are therefore in all probability irrecoverably lost. The following stanzas are said to be those with which Sir Philip Sidney was first struck.

From him returning, sad and comfortless,
 As on the way together we did fare,
 We met that villain (God from him me bless
 That cursed wight, whom I escaped whylear,
 A man of hell, that calls himself despair ;
 Who first us greets, and after fair arceeds
 Of tidings strange, and of adventures rare,
 So creeping close, as snake in hidden weeds,
 Inquieth of our states, and of our knightly
 deeds.
 Which when he knew, and felt our feeble
 hearts
 Embos'd with bole, and bitter biting grief,
 Which love had lanced with his deadly darts,
 With wounding words, and terms of foul
 reproof,
 He pluck'd from us all hope of due relief;
 That erst us held in love of ling'ring life ;
 Then hopeless, heartless, 'gan the cunning
 thief,
 Persuade us did, to flint all farther strife :
 To me he lent this rope, ~~and~~ ^{and} him a rusty knife.

The

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The following is the picture.

The darksome cave they enter, where they find,
 That cursed man, low sitting on the ground,
 Musing full sadly in his fullen mind;
 His greasy locks, long growing, and unbound,
 Disorder'd hung about his shoulders round,
 And hid his face; through which his hol-
 low eyne,
 Look'd deadly dull, and stared as astound;
 His raw-bone cheeks thro' penury and pine,
 Were shrunk into his jaws, as he did never dine.

His garments nought, but many ragged clouts,
 With thorns together pinn'd and patched was,
 The which his naked sides he wrapt about;
 And him beside, there lay upon the grass
 A dreary coise, whose life away did pass,
 All wallowed in his own, yet lukewarm
 blood,
 That from his wound yet welled fresh alas;
 In which a rusty knife fast fixed stood,
 And made an open passage for the gushing flood

It would perhaps be an injury to Spencer to dismiss his life without a few remarks on that great work of his which has placed him among the foremost of our poets, and discovered so elevated and sublime a genius. The work I mean is his allegorical poem of the Fairy Queen. Sir William Temple, in his Essay on Poetry, says, "That the religion

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of the Gentiles had been woven into the texture of all the ancient poetry with an agreeable mixture, which made the moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place also in their poems; but the true religion was not found to become fictions so well as the false one had done, and all their attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase religion than heighten poetry. Spencer endeavoured to supply this with morality, and to make instruction, instead of story, the subject of an epic poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high. But his design was poor; and his moral lay so bare, that it lost the effect. It is true, the pill was gilded, but so thin, that the colour and the taste were easily discovered."—Mr. Rymer asserts, that Spencer may be reckoned the first of our heroic poets. He had a large spirit, a sharp judgment, and a genius for heroic poetry, perhaps above any that ever wrote since Virgil, but our misfortune is, he wanted a true idea, and lost himself by following an unfaithful guide. Though besides Homer and Virgil he had read Tasso, yet he rather suffered himself to be misled by Ariosto, with whom blindly rambling on marvels and adventures, he makes no conscience of probability; all is fanciful and chimerical, without any uniformity, or without any foundation in truth; in a word, his poem is perfect Fairy-land." Thus far Sir William Temple and Mr. Rymer; let us now attend to the opinion of a greater name.

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name. Mr. Dryden, in his dedication of Juvenal, thus proceeds: "The English have only to boast of Spencer and Milton in heroic poetry, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many censures; for there is no uniformity in the design of Spencer; he aims at the accomplishment of no one action; he raises up a hero for every one of his adventures, and endows each of them with some particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without subordination, or preference: every one is valiant in his own legend; only we must do him the justice to observe, that magnanimity, which is the character of prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem, and succours the rest when they are in distress. The original of every knight was then living in the court of queen Elizabeth, and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought most conspicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account. Had he lived to have finished his poem in the remaining legends, it had certainly been more of a piece; but could not have been perfect, because the model was not true. But prince Arthur, or his chief patron, Sir Philip Sidney, dying before him, deprived the poet both of means and spirit to accomplish his design. For the rest, his obsolete language, and ill choice of his stanza are faults both of the second magnitude; for notwithstanding the first, he

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he is still intelligible, at least after a little practice : and, for the last, he is more to be admired ; that, labouring under such disadvantages, his verses are so numerous, so various, and so harmonious, that only Virgil, whom he has professedly imitated, hath surpassed him among the Romans ; and only Waller among the English."

Mr. Hughe's, in his essay on allegorical poetry, prefixed to Spencer's works, tells us, that this poem is conceived, wrought up, and coloured with stronger fancy, and discovers more the particular genius of Spencer, than any of his other writings ; and, having observed that Spencer, in a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, calls it, a continued allegory, and dark conceit, he gives us some remarks on allegorical poetry in general ; defining allegory to be a fable, or story, in which, under imaginary persons, or things, is shadowed some real action, or instructive moral, " as I think," says he, " it is somewhere very shortly defined by Plutarch. It is that, in which one thing is related, and another thing understood. It is a kind of poetical picture, or hieroglyphic ; which, by its apt resemblance, conveys instruction to the mind by an analogy to the senses ; and so amuses the fancy while it informs the understanding. Every allegory has therefore two senses, the literal and mystical. The literal sense is like a dream, or vision, of which the mystical sense is the true meaning, or interpretation. This will be
more

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more clearly apprehended by considering, that, as a simile is a more extended metaphor, so an allegory is a kind of continued simile, or an assemblage of similitudes drawn out at full length.

“ The chief merit of this poem, no doubt, consists in that surprising vein of fabulous invention which runs through it, and enriches it every where with imaginary descriptions, more than we meet with in any modern poem. The author seems to be possessed of a kind of poetical magic ; and the figures he presents up to our view, rise up so thick upon us, that we are at once pleased and distracted with the inexhaustible variety of them ; so that his faults may, in a manner, be imputed to his excellencies. His abundance betrays him into excess ; and his judgment is overborn by the torrent of his imagination. That which seems the most liable to exception, in this work, is the model of it, and the choice the author has made of so romantic a story. The several books rather appear to be so many several poems, than one entire fable. Each of them hath its peculiar knight, and is independent of the rest ; and, though some of the persons make their appearance in different books, yet this hath very little effect in concealing them. Prince Arthur, indeed, is the principal person, and has therefore a share given him in every legend : but his part is not considerable enough in any one of them. He appears and vanishes again like a spirit ; and
we

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we lose sight of him too soon to consider him as the hero of the poem.

“ These are the most obvious defects in the fable of the Fairy Queen. The want of unity in the story makes it difficult for the reader to carry it in his mind, and distracts too much his attention to the several parts of it ; and, indeed, the whole frame of it would appear monstrous, were it to be examined by the rules of epic poetry, as they have been drawn from the practice of Homer and Virgil ; but, as it is plain the author never designed it by these rules, I think it ought rather to be called a poem of a particular kind, describing, in a series of allegorical adventures, or episodes, the most noted virtues and vices.

“ To compare it therefore with the models of antiquity, would be like drawing a parallel between the Roman and Gothic architecture. In the first, there is doubtless a more natural grandeur and simplicity ; in the latter we find great mixtures of beauty and barbarism, yet assisted by the invention of a variety of inferior ornaments ; and, though the former is more majestic in the whole, the latter may be very surprising and agreeable in its parts.”



S.^r John Perrot.

Thompson Sculp.

THE LIFE OF

SIR JOHN PERROT.

SIR JOHN PERROT was the son of Thomas Perrot, esq. of Istrington, in Pembrokeshire, in South Wales, by his wife Alice, sole heiress of John Pechton, esq. With regard to his education, it was such as suited his quality and fortune till he was about twelve years of age, when he was sent up to London, to the marquis of Winchester's house, the lord high-treasurer under Henry VIII. there being, at the same time, under the marquis's patronage, for their preferment, the earl of Oxenford, and lord Abergavenny; the last of which was so fierce and hasty, that no servant or gentleman in the family could continue quiet for him: but, when young Perrot came, who, to an uncommon strength and lustiness, added a spirit equally bold, his lordship was told there was now a youth arrived who would be more than a match for him. "Is there such a one?" said he. "Let me see him." Upon which, being brought where Perrot was, for the first salutation, he asked him, "What, Sir, are you the kill-cow that must match me?" "No," said Mr. Perrot, "I am no butcher; but, if you use me

me no better, you shall find I can give a butcher's blow," "Can you so?" said he, "I will see that." And so, being both angry, they fell to blows, till lord Abergavenny found that he had his hands full, and was willing to be parted from him: after which, the serving-men, and others, when they found the young lord unruly, would threaten him with Mr. Perrot.

At length, however, they grew into great friendship, insomuch that they were seldom asunder, till once they determined to make a banquet, and invite their friends thereto. But being not so rich as to be owners of a cupboard of plate, they provided good store of glasses. Before their guests came, they fell into some contention, and they took the glasses and broke them about one another's ears; that, when the guests came, they found, instead of wine, blood sprinkled about the chamber. Thus the banquet was spoiled, the two young gentlemen lost their friends thanks, and broke the league that was begun betwixt them.

Shortly after, it was Mr. Perrot's fortune to go into Southwark (as it was supposed to a house of pleasure) taking only a page with him, where he fell out with two of the king's yeomen. They both drew on him; but he defended himself so valiantly, that the king, being then at Winchester-house, near the place, was told how a young gentleman had fought with two of his majesty's servants. The king being desirous to see him, sent for him,

him, demanded his name, country, and kindred. This being boldly by him related, it pleased the king very well to see so much valour and audacity in so young a man; and therefore he desired him to repair to the court, where he would bestow preferment on him. But, not long after, king Henry died; so Mr. Perrot lost that hope, remaining, for a time, till the coronation of king Edward, at the marquis of Winchester's house, as before; where he spent his time in such exercises as youth is accustomed to. But, when Mr. Perrot came to king's Edward's court, for the extraordinary comeliness of his person, and the forwardness of his spirit, the young prince took such a liking to him, that he caused him to be made one of the knights of the Bath. The young king had a very good opinion of Sir John Perrot, and he gained the good liking of the whole court by his valour, activity, strength, and expertness in acts of chivalry. When the marquis of Southampton went into France to treat of a marriage betwixt king Edward and the French king's daughter, Sir John Perrot accompanied him.

The marquis being a nobleman that delighted much in all activities, keeping the most excellent men that could be found in most kinds of sport, the king of France understanding it, brought him to hunt the wild boar; and, being in chace, it fell out, that a gentleman, charging the boar, did not hit right, so that the beast was ready to run in upon him.

Sir

Sir John Perrot perceiving him to be in danger, came in to his rescue; and, with a broad sword, gave the boar such a blow as almost parted the head from the shoulders.

The king of France, who stood in sight of this, came presently to him, took him about the middle, and, embracing him, called him *Beaufoile*. Now he supposed that the king came to try his strength; so, taking his majesty also about the middle, he lifted him up from the ground: with which the king was nothing displeased, but proffered him a good pension to serve him. Sir John Perrot, having the French tongue, answered, That, he humbly thanked his majesty, but he was a gentleman that had means of his own; or, if not, he knew he served a gracious prince who would not see him want, and to whom he had vowed his service during life.

Shortly after, Sir John returned from France, and came to the court of England, where he lived at too high a rate; so that he grew into debt, and began to mortgage some of his lands. Yet he at length began to bethink himself, and grew much agrieved at his own prodigality; insomuch that he once walked out of the court, into a place where commonly the king came about the same hour; and there he began, (either as knowing that the king would come that way, or else by chance) to complain against himself to himself; and entered, as it were, into a disputation, whether he

he were best to follow, or leave, the court; for he feared that, should he continue, the king being young, and under government, if his majesty should be pleased to grant him any thing, in recompence of his service; yet his governors, and the privy-council, might gainsay it; and so he should rather run into farther arrears, than recover his decayed fortunes: but, if he retired into the country, he might live at less charge, or betake himself to the wars, where he might get some place of command to save his revenues and pay his debts.

As he was thus debating the matter, the king came behind him, and overheard most of what he said. At length his majesty stepped before him, saying, "How now, Perrot, what is the matter that you make this great moan?" To whom Sir John answered, "And it like your majesty, I did not think that your highness had been there." "Yes," said the king, "we heard you well enough: and have you spent your living in our service; and is the king so young, and under government, that he cannot give you any thing in recompence? Spy out somewhat, and you shall see whether the king hath not power to bestow it on you." Then he most humbly thanked his majesty, and shortly after found out a concealment; which, as soon as he sought, the king bestowed it on him; wherewith he paid the most part of his debts, and ever after became a better husband.

This

This story Sir John would sometimes tell his friends, acknowledging it a great blessing.

After the death of king Edward, queen Mary, his sister, coming to the crown, Sir John Perrot continued still at court, and was well accepted among the nobility. The queen also favoured him, but would say, He did smell of the smoak, meaning thereby his religion, for which he was called in question by means of one Gaderne, the queen's servant, and his countryman; who accused Sir John, That he kept certain Protestants, then called hereticks, at his house in Wales. Upon which accusation, he did not deny his religion, but was committed to the Fleet; yet being well friended, he was allowed to have council come to him; and, by means he made to the queen, he was released.

Within a while he went to St. Quintin, where he had a command under the earl of Pembroke; who loved him so far, that there was never any unkindness betwixt them but once; when queen Mary gave special charge to the earl, to see that no hereticks should remain in Wales. When his lordship received this command, coming home to his lodging, where Sir John Perrot lay with his son, Sir Edward Herbert, the earl acquainted him what the queen had given him in charge; and told him, as her majesty had laid this burden on his back, "I must," said he, "cousin Perrot, ease myself, and lay part of it on you for those_

those parts whereabouts you dwell." To which Sir John answered, " My lord, I hope you know you may command my life ; but leave me to enjoy my conscience." To which the earl replied somewhat angrily, " What, Sir John Perrot, will you be an heretic with the rest ?" " Not so, my lord," said he, " for I hope my religion is as sound as yours, or any man's : " and so, with some other cholerick speeches, that conference ended.

In the morning Sir John rose very early, went abroad, and returned again by the time the earl was making him ready, thinking that all unkindness had been passed ; but Pembroke, as soon as he spied him, cry'd, " Sir John Perrot, who sent for you ? " He answered, " My lord, I did not think you would have asked me that question ; and, if I had imagined so much, you should have sent for me twice before I had come once ; and shall do so before I come hither again." As he was turning about to go out of doors, the earl called upon him to stay, for he would speak with him ; so they fell into foul words, and from foul words to such foul play, that, if they had not been parted, much hurt might have been done. But Sir John Perrot was fain to depart, not being able to make his party good in that place.

This was not so privately done, or so secretly kept, but news thereof came speedily to court ; and the cause of the quarrel being known to be religion, the queen was greatly displeased ;

displeased ; infomuch, that Sir John, having at that time a suit for the castle and lordship of Carew, and a promise of the grant being given him ; when he came next to the queen, she would scarce look on him, much less give him any good answer ; which he perceiving, determined not to be baulked with austere looks, but pressed so near to the queen, that he fell upon her train, beseeching her majesty to remember her promise made to him for Carew ; wherewith she seemed highly offended, and in angry sort asked, “ What ! Perrot, will you offer violence to our person ? ” Then he besought of her pardon for his boldness ; but she departed with much indignation. But, within a short time, Sir John Perrot found such friends about the queen, that she was content to remit what was past, in hope he would be reformed in religion, and to refer his suit unto the lords of the privy-council.

When he came before the lords of the council to know their pleasures, whether he should have Carew, according to the queen’s promise, the bishop of Winchester began very sharply to censure him, saying, “ Sir John Perrot, do you come to seek suits of the queen ? I tell you, except you alter your heretical religion, it were more fit the queen should bestow faggots than any living on you ; ” and so he passed on with a very severe sentence against him. But, when it came to the turn of the earl of Pembroke to deliver his opinion, he

he spoke thus, as Sir John Perrot himself related it, " My lords, I must tell you my opinion of this man, and of the matter. For the man, I think he ~~would~~, at this time, if he could, eat my heart with salt; but yet, notwithstanding his stomach towards me, I will give him his due; I hold him to be a man of good worth, and one who hath deserved of her majesty in her service, as good a matter as this which he seeketh; and will, no doubt, deserve better if he reform his religion: therefore, since the queen hath passed her gracious promise, I see no reason but he should have that which he seeketh." When they heard the earl of Pembroke so favourable, who they thought would have been most vehement against him, all the rest were content; and so her majesty shortly after granted him his suit; and he ever acknowledged himself much beholden to the earl of Pembroke; who, in this, as in all things else, shewed himself most honourable.

When queen Mary had run out the race of mortality, her sister succeeding her, Sir John Perrot was appointed one of the four to carry the canopy over queen Elizabeth at her coronation.

In the first year of Elizabeth's reign, Francis II. king of France, was killed by accident at a tournament; which the queen having speedy notice of, proposing either to comfort the French ambassador, then at the court, for

the death of his master, or to conceal the matter from him as long as she could, since he then seemed ignorant of it; she took him with her into the park at Greenwich, where tents were set up, and a banquet provided.

As she passed through the park gate, a page presented a speech to her, signifying, that there were certain knights come from a far country, who had dedicated their services to their several mistresses, being ladies for beauty, virtue, and other excellencies, incomparable; and, therefore, they had vowed to advance their fame through the world, and to adventure combat with such as should be so hardy as to affirm, that there were any ladies so excellent as the saints which they served. And, hearing great fame of a lady which kept her court thereabouts, both for her own excellency, and the worthiness of many renowned knights which she kept, they were come to try, whether any of her knights would encounter them for the defence of their mistress's honour.

When this speech was ended, the queen told the page, "Sir Dwarf, you give me very short warning, but I hope your knights shall be answered." And then looking about, she asked the lord-chamberlain, "Shall we be out-bragged by a dwarf?" "No, an it like your majesty," answered he: "Let but a trumpet be sounded, and it shall be seen, that you keep men at arms enough to answer any proud

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proud challenge." Then was the trumpet sounded, and immediately there issued out of the east lane at Greenwich, several pensioners gallantly armed and mounted.

The challengers were, the earl of Ormond, the lord North, and Sir John Perrot. Presently, upon their coming forth, the challengers prepared themselves. Amongst the rest, there was one Mr. Cornwallis, to whose turn it fell, at length, to run against Sir John Perrot. As they both encountered, Sir John, through the unsteadiness of his horse, and uncertainty of courses in the field, chanced to run Mr. Cornwallis through the hose, razing his thigh, and somewhat hurting his horse; wherewith he being offended, and Sir John discontented, as they were both cholerick, they fell into a challenge to run with sharp lances, without armor, in the presence of the queen; which her majesty hearing of, she would not suffer; so they were reconciled, and the combat ended after certain courses performed on both sides by the challengers and defendants.

After finishing these exercises, her majesty invited the French ambassador to a banquet provided in a pavilion in the park; but he, having received an account, while there, of the king his master's death, prayed pardon of her majesty, and retired.

After this, Sir John Perrot continued his interchangeable courses, sometimes at the court,

court, sometimes in the country, till the year 1572; at which time he was made first lord-president of Munster, in Ireland; being then a province much ~~de~~warred and desolate, wasted by means of the earl of Desmond, but especially by the merciless Fitzmorris, the earl's lieutenant, who was chief actor in all those cruel devastations. He was a man very valiant, politic, and learned, as any rebel had been of that nation for many years.

Sir John Perrot landed at Waterford the first of March, 1572, being St. David's day; and, within three days, the rebel James Fitzmorris burned the town of Kyllmalog, hanged the sovereign, and others of the townsmen, at the high cross in the market-place, and carried all the plate and wealth of the town with him; with which entertainment Sir John Perrot, the new president, was much discontented, and therefore hastened to Dublin to take his oath of the lord-deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, with purpose to present the rebels with sharp and speedy war at his return from Dublin to Cork, which was about the tenth of April following.

He first gathered and lodged his own companies there, having with him two companies of foot, under the command of captain Bowler and captain Furse, besides two hundred Irish soldiers of Kerne and Galleglasses; also he had with him his own troop of horse, which were of the queen's entertainment; and of
his

his own servants one hundred horse; and captain Abslow commanded under him as many.

With these he went to Kyllmalog, the late wasted town, where he lodged himself in a house half burned; and made a proclamation, 'That as many of the townsmen as fled, should return home,' which they did accordingly, and began to build their gates, to repair the town walls and to re-edify their houses.

Before the lord-president's departure from Kyllmalog, one night the cry of the country was up, That the rebels had beset the lord Roch's castle, burned his barn, slain some of his people, and taken away a great many of his cattle. Upon which the lord-president suddenly rose, armed, took with him his own troop of horse and captain Abslow's, leaving the foot bands to guard the town, and he pursued the rebels, being in number two hundred, whom he overtook at a place called Knocklonga, within three miles of Arlange Wood. There the rebels run to the bogs, as their best security, and left their prey. The lord-president caused his men to alight from their horses, to rip off their boots, and to leap into the bogs, taking with them their petronels and light-horsemen's staves instead of pikes; with which they charged the enemy, overthrew them, and cut off fifty of their heads, which they carried home with them unto Kyllmalog, and put the heads round

about the cross; which were known by the townsmen that the president sent for from Lymbrick, who had lately lost their goods; and then he restored to the lord Roch all his cattle.

The lord-president, after he had strengthened and comforted the townsmen of Kyllmalog, departed towards Lymbrick; and, on his way, came to a castle of Fybot Burk, who had been in action with James Fitzmorris, but afterward they slew one another. There the president demanded the keys, and that he might enter; which they not only denied, but shut the president's people out of the castle, they having about forty soldiers in it. The president thereupon caused the castle to be so undermined that part of the wall fell to the ground, and killed some of the rebels within. Whereupon the wife of Fybot Burk yielded herself, with her son and the castle, into the hands of the president, who left thirty Englishmen to guard it, and departed to Lymbrick, to receive the lords that came to him; as the earl of Tomond, O'Hones, Desmond, and others; as also to settle that part of the country.

From Lymbrick the lord-president went to Cashill; and, on the way, there was a castle held by the rebels, which he caused to be set on fire by shooting fire to the top, which was covered with thatch. He commanded his men to alight from their horses to do the execution,

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ecution, who left their horses with their foot-boys hard by to feed; but the noise of the castle at its fall, and the sight of the fire, so terrified the horses, that they broke loose from the boys and ran into the woods, where they were taken and carried away by the rebels; but shortly after the president recovered most of his horse again.

When he came to Cashill, he hanged seven of the graspy merchants, being such as brought bread and aquavita, and other provisions, to the rebels; the sovereign of the town hardly escaped that punishment. From Cashill the lord-president went to Fether and Clomel, and to Sir Edward Butler's country; where he took his chief castle with pledges for his fidelity. He also took other holds, and so went up to Carick, the earl of Ormond's house, whom he appointed, after some abode there, to meet him at Cork.

When the president came to Cork, he assembled the chief lords of the province, as the earl of Ormond, Clynarty, and Tomond; the lord Bury, the lord Roch, the lord Corsey, Mackarty, Reuch, Gormond Mack-Teage, and almost all the lords, save such as were out in rebellion. He appointed them to gather their forces, and to meet him within a month after, meaning to follow the rebels wheresoever they went; and so they did.

For, first, the lord-president drew all his forces into the White Knight's country, taking

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two of his castles, burned many of his houses, and drove him into the woods. From thence he marched with his army into the Arlaugh woods, being the rebels' place of strength; and following them there for a while, he returned unto Cork to refresh his men; and they went into Mack Swine's country; there he slew many of the rebels, and had as many as he took; spoiled all the enemy's country; and, with continual travel, wore out their provision, having no corn left in the country to make them bread, which the president himself wanted for several days; their chief sustenance being the milk of those cows they had taken; of which they brought two thousand five hundred with them to Cork, after two months travel, pursuing the rebels from place to place.

James Fitzmorris, finding his forces weakened, and, that, being followed without intermission, he could not continue long, except he were supplied with some foreign aid, drew over into Munster five hundred Scottish, Irish, or Red Shanks, out of the islands, with whom he thought himself able to make resistance against the president's power, having one thousand followers of his own. The president hearing of this, sent for the lords, and others, with whom he went against the rebels, and met them in the woods within the county of Limbrick, wherein they had, as it were, intrenched themselves. The lord-president, viewing

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viewing the camp sent them word, that he was come to give them battle, and would stay for them in the field, if they would come forth and fight with him; but they being unwilling, answered, That there they stayed for him, and from thence they would not go. Which he perceiving, prepared his people to charge them. So he placed the Irish Lords, and others of the better sort, within the body of the main battle, telling them, that he was willing to expose them to the utmost danger; which he did out of this politic consideration, that the lords, if any of them were ill-minded or fearful, should be kept from running away, and that their followers would stick to it the better, seeing their lords engaged. Which the president had the more reason to do, because of eleven hundred then in his company, three parts at least were Irish: so with this good order and resolution he set on the rebels, who were about fifteen hundred strong, and broke them, killing a hundred and twenty of the rebels and their aiders; whereupon they made their retreat towards the north, and James Fitzmorris grew weak again. From thenceforward the president followed his good fortunes and his foes, with such earnestness that they seldom would come to fight him, except it were in light skirmishes, and that upon great advantage. Which he perceiving, pursued them night and day in person, even in the winter, and lay out many

nights both in frost and snow. Nay once, when following the Kernes through the woods, where they could not find a road, the president himself took such pains in marching, that with earnestness of pursuing, and the depth of the foul ways in the midst of winter, he lost one of his shoes, and so went on a pretty way without his shoe, or without feeling the loss of it, till at length it began to pain him so much, that he rested on a gentleman's shoulder, and told him there was somewhat amiss. The gentleman, so lifting up his leg, the gentleman told him, "My lord, you have lost your shoe." "'Tis no matter," said he, "as long as the legs last we will find shoes;" and so, calling for another pair, he marched on still. At another time, being abroad in service, they encamped near a wood, where the president lay in his tent, having for his guides some of his servants, and certain Gallyglasses. The Gallyglasses had gotten a hog, which they roasted after their manner, by a great fire, near the president, and when they had half-roasted it, with half the hair about it, they began to make partition, and one of them in great kindness reached a piece to one of the president's servants, a gentleman and a justice of the peace in his country, the president perceiving it, said, "James, this is good meat in such a place." To whom the gentleman answered, "An it please you, it is good meat here among these men; but if I were at home, I would scarce give it to my dogs."

James

James Fitzmorris, knowing that the lord-president desired more than the finishing of the war, in the subduing the rebels made shew that he also was willing to finish the same by single combat, and sent the lord-president word, as believing that his expectation would keep him for a time from farther actions, and so indeed it did : for James Fitzmorris first offered to fight with fifty of his horsemen, against the lord-president and fifty of his, which his lordship willingly accepted ; but when the time came, Fitzmorris sent word that he would willingly fight with the lord-president in single combat, hand to hand. To which message the lord-president sent answer, that he would willingly accept his challenge ; the place appointed was at Amely, an old town, six miles from Killmallock. The weapons that were assigned to fight with were, by Fitzmorris's appointment, sword and target, and they should be both clad in Irish troffes, which the president provided of scarlet, and was ready according to appointment, saying, " That although he knew James Fitzmorris to be his inferior in all respects, yet he would reckon it a life well adventured, to deprive such a rebel of his life." But after all James Fitzmorris came not, but sent a cunning excuse, by one Cono Roe Oharnan, an Irish poet, saying, " That he would not fight with the lord-president at all, not so much for fear of his life, as because on his life depended the safety of all his party.

When the lord president heard this, he was much discontented, that he had suffered himself to be so abused, and without delay, to "hunt the fox out of his hole." And besides his own diligence, he earnestly encouraged all the noblemen of the country to use their best means for the subduing of that dangerous rebel. And presently, he sought after, and at length found out the ringleader, James Fitzmorris, who now drew his breath by shifts and flights, and sent a false spy to the president, with protestations and oaths, that he knew where James Fitzmorris was lodged, with less than thirty persons in his company, and that if the president would come with expedition, he might be sure to take him that night, without danger; and for confirmation he offered not words alone, but the venture of his life to go with him. This being after supper, the president ordered some of his people to arm themselves, and he with them took horse, lest they should lose so good an opportunity as they then hoped for.

They posted to the place where it was said the traitor was so slenderly guarded, but Fitzmorris lay in ambush under a hill, with four or five hundred foot, and above four score horse; whom the president could not spy, till two or three of his horsemen were within reach of the rebels, who charged them; and where the president's secretary, called Trewbrigg, being one of the foremost, was slain, and

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and about an hundred pounds of his master's money, which he carried with him taken.

Perceiv^{ing} that they were intrapped, son would have retired; but the president answered, That he would not do so, for he had rather die fighting than running away; and therefore he bid them charge home with him, and he was one of the foremost himself; so that he encountered with one of the rebels, and run him with his lance through a skirt of mail, who fell, and stood over him, ready to strike again as he arose. In the mean time, there came in another horseman of the rebels side, thinking to have run him through behind with his staff overhand, as the manner of the Irish was: but one Greame, a captain, came in to rescue the president, and ran the rebel through before he could give that deadly blow. With that they charged others afresh, and were furcharged themselves with multitudes, so that the president's horse was almost spent, and yet he would not give over.

Though he was left three times that morning one of the last in the field, still encouraging his men to come up and charge anew, so that he had been slain or taken, if an extraordinary accident had not preserved him. For one captain Bowler, with four more that made themselves ready as soon as they might come after from Killmallow, appearing upon the top of a hill, Fitzmorris supposed that it had been captain Bowler with his company, and

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and the rest of the English forces that were coming with a supply. Whereupon he immediately made his soldiers march, so that the president was delivered. But he ceased not to follow the rebels with his forces, till shortly after he overtook Fitzmorris with his Kernes, near a bridge, not far from a wood side, where the rebels finding that he could hardly escape, sent towards the president one, with a white cloth on the top of a spear in token of parley; which being perceived, the president stayed his companies from marching; this strange herald, to delay time, offered certain conditions of submission, but not such as the lord-president expected, or would accept of. In the mean time, Fitzmorris conveyed his Kernes, over the bridge into the wood, and so escaped. Nevertheless, this device but a very little protracted time, and exasperated the president, to follow him, and to finish the wars, which were now almost at an end. For within a small time, the president giving the rebels no rest, or leaving them any means of maintenance, dispersed the power of Fitzmorris, and made him glad to hide his head, without any strength or number of men to accompany him. So that he was forced to sue for pardon, offering to submit himself to the queen's mercy. Which at length the lord-president consented to, and James Fitzmorris came to Killmallock, where in the church the lord-president caused him to lie prostrate, putting the
point

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point of his sword to his heart, in token that he had received his life at the queen's hands. Then he took a solemn oath to continue a true subject to the crown of England, whereby the province of Munster was much quieted, and maintained in, as good peace as any part of Ireland.

But the lord-president being too plain-dealing a man, purchased much ill-will, whereby there were raised on him several causeless complaints in England; yet sometimes shadowed with such probability, and countenanced by such great men, that in part they were believed; and not being at hand to answer objections, he had now and then sharp letters sent him from the government, till at last he determined to come to England and clear himself. And though he had no licence, yet knowing that he left Ireland in quietness, he presumed that his sudden departure would be the better excused.

With this resolution, setting things in order for the present government of Munster, and making up his accounts, he departed thence about the beginning of March 1573.

When Sir John came to court it was thought that the queen would have been highly offended at his coming over without licence. Yet as soon as he appeared before her, and had related the state of Ireland, the particulars of his Grievance, and the cause of his coming over; her majesty commended his endeavours, and desired him

him to return speedily to his charge, lest in
 absence some disquietude might arise.
 To which Sir John answered that for the ge-
 neral state of the province, it was so well set-
 tled, that no new commotion or a sudden
 need be feared. Yet there were many parti-
 culars which might be amended without any
 great difficulty : which being allowed by her
 highness, he was ready to serve her there
 whensoever it should please her to appoint him.
 And that the same might be the better un-
 stood, he presented a plan to the queen to be
 considered by her majesty, and her privy-
 council

The plan contained several points ; as the
 planting the protestant religion in the pro-
 vince of Munster, the due administration of
 justice according to the laws of England, the
 keeping of the people in peace, and the an-
 swering of her majesty's rents and revenues
 more assuredly, the setting her lands at more
 certainty, the dividing the province into shires
 and Signories ; the building of forts and cas-
 tles, some to bridle the rebels, and some for
 the state of presidency ; the cutting down of
 woods, which were then harbours of, and for-
 tresses for thieves, rebels, and outlaws ; and
 the building of ships out of the said woods
 for the queen's service.

The queen liked well of the plot, and so
 did some of her council ; but others disliked it
 more because it was his design than for any de-
 fect

felt they found therein : yet he seemed to shew some inconveniencies, and so the thing was hindered.

The queen, notwithstanding, would have had Sir John Perrot go over as president again ; but he, fearing that in his absence the complaints of his adversaries might prevail, excused himself, undertaking of that service, through ill-health. And prayed that he might be licenced to repair into the country for recovery, which being granted, after leave taken of the queen, he departed to his house.

But he had reposed himself but a few years in the country, sometimes repairing to court, as his occasions served ; when he was suddenly sent for by the queen to take charge of some ships, which were to be sent to sea ; upon intelligence that James Fitzmorris, since his submission, had been in Spain, and procured the promise of ships and men to invade Ireland, especially the province of Munster.

This being known to the queen and her privy-council, they sent for Sir John Perrot to take the command of such ships and pinnaces as should be made ready to intercept, or interrupt the king of Spain, his navy and forces, which were designed for Ireland. Sir John made such speed in his journey, that he came from Pembrokeshire to Greenwich in less than three days. The queen, when she saw him, told him, she thought he had not heard from her

her so soon: yes, madam, answered he, and have made as much haste as I might to come unto your majesty. ~~Said the queen,~~ said the queen, but how have you done to settle your affairs in the country? An it like your majesty, said Sir John, I have taken this care for all; that setting private business aside, in respect of your majesty's service, I have appointed the white sheep to keep the black: for I may well enough venture them, when I am willing to venture my life in ~~your majesty's~~ service. With which answer the queen was well pleased, and she conferred with him privately for some time; then dismissing him and appointing him to receive farther directions for that service from the lords of her privy-council.

Then did Sir John Perrot prepare for that voyage with all convenient speed: He had with him fifty men in orange tawny cloaks, whereof divers were gentlemen of good birth and quality. Also he had a noyce of musicians with him being his own servants.

All things being prepared, Sir John departed from London about August, and went from thence by barge, with several noblemen and gentlemen. As they lay against Greenwich, where the queen kept her court, Sir John sent one of his gentlemen on shore, with a diamond, in a token to Mrs. Blanch Parry, willing him to tell her, that a diamond coming unlooked for, did always bring good luck with it: which

which the queen hearing, sent Sir John a fair jewel hung by a white cypress, signifying, that as long as he lived, that for her sake, she believed, with God's help he should have no harm. The message and jewel Sir John received joyfully, and he returned answer to the queen, " That he would wear that for his sovereign's sake, and doubted not, with God's favour, to return her ships in safety, and either to bring the Spaniards (if they came in his way) as prisoners, or else to sink them in the seas. As Sir John passed by in his barge, the queen looking out at the window shook her fan, and put out her hand towards him, upon which he made a low obeysance, while he put the scarf and jewel about his neck: and, being arrived at Gillingham, where the ships rode, Sir John feasted the company which came with him thither.

Sir John Perrot set out from Gillingham to the Downs, and thence passing by Falmouth and Plymouth put to sea for Ireland, where they arrived at Baltimore. And by reason of his former government in that country, they bore such affection towards him, that the people came in great numbers, some embracing his legs, all coveting to touch some part of his body: which the vice-admiral perceiving, and thinking they came to do him hurt, determined to discharge the cannon from his ships; but being informed that they came in love to salute Sir John, he altered his purpose, and landed;

land; where they were all entertained as well as the fashion of the country could afford.

After this, Sir John remained awhile upon the coast, till he saw the season of the year was past for attempting any thing against Ireland, and therefore sailed homewards, in his way taking a desperate pirate, one Derryfold. On the Downs also his ship struck on the Kentish Knocks; where all the persons that were in her, stood in great danger ~~to be cast~~ away; but at length getting safe to shore, the admiral, having kissed the queen's hand, retired again to his seat in the country.

But though he continued there at times, he was not unmindful of the court and state affairs: for he not only received letters from some privy counsellors, touching things of moment at that time, but gave answers which were shewed to the queen, and she liked them much; till in the year 1582 her majesty thought proper to make him lord deputy of Ireland, where Desmond was up in rebellion. And he set sail for that kingdom, in company with the earl of Ormond, and arrived at Dublin in January the same year.

Within a week after his coming, he took the oaths, and began to settle courses for the quieting and government of the country, which had been long infested with civil contention; so that, for the space of sixty years, the sword was more in use than the laws; which pro-
ceeded

ceeded chiefly from the corruption and ignorance of the governors, which had given great advantage to the ill-affected subjects; and that people in general whose nature it is to seek liberty, and prefer antient customs before new ordinances, be they never so wholesome. Yet, to say the truth, the Irish love to be justly dealt with by their governors, howsoever they deal with one another; and will do more at the command of their governor, whom they repute, and have found, to be just, then by the strict execution of the laws, or constraint of any force or power. They are, for the most part, naturally wise, and apt to observe the best advantage and opportunity to obtain their purposes: all which the lord-deputy knew, partly by his former experience, when he was president of Munster, and by the depth of his judgment: and he determined, in order to settle the better disposed in tranquillity, by hearing complaints, and settling a regular government over the rebellious and seditious, immediately to travel thorough the several provinces in person.

To this purpose, he first took his journey into Conaught, there to place Sir Richard Bingham in his government. From Conaught he travelled towards the province of Munster; but, when he came to Lymrick, he received advertisement of a great number of islanders, or Scottish Irish, landing at Maney, in O-Neale's country. But the whole plot was discovered

covert by the archbishop of Cashill, who sent the deputy by Sir Lucas Dyllon, certain letters, which Torlough Lenough wrote him; wherein Torlough challenged the bishop to be his follower borne, and therefore to be trusted; and, that he should find him his refuge wherever all other parts failed; and, finally, that he should credit the messenger.

After this, the bishop came to him, where he declared that he found the messenger was appointed to practise with all the Irish and Irish captains of Munster and Conaught, to enter into rebellion whenever strangers should arrive: and this messenger being afterwards apprehended at Athlone, he confessed, that he was no common man, but one of great account with O-Neale, his fosterer, and a leader of forty horsemen, and had under him two thousand head of cattle; that he was sent to deal with the earl of Clancarty, the lord Fitzmorris, and all others of any account in Munster and Conaught, to require them to join with his master against the queen; and to assure them, that troops, under the king of Spain, with other foreign aid, would enter the kingdom with such force, that, before Michaelmas, there should not be one English man left there. He likewise said, that his master was promised to be made king of Ireland; and, that he accepted of it, saying, He would be king, although he died within an hour after.

These

These things occurring, the lord-deputy was forced to return to Dublin, to make speedy preparation for resistance, and to give over his intended journey for a time; though, in the short progress he had gone, he had dealt with the O-Keilys, O-Conor Roe, O-Conor Done, O-Conor Slygo, Mac Willininger, Morrice, Done Affuerty, the O-neales, the Burlises of Conaught, the Mac Donny Mahone, Macnaspike, the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, the lord Bremingham, both the Mac Donmaras, the two Mac Mahons, and every other lord of Conaught and Thomond; and took pledges for assurance of their loyalty. He had also executed that traitor Donough O'Obrian, and six of his followers; and decided all controversies. Also, the suspected bishop, Malachias Analone, and a friar, being brother to Mac Wellin Enghter, renounced the pope, and swore to the supremacy. The friar put off his habit, and both published a profession of their faith and recantation. The lord-deputy also encreased the school-master's salary at Galloway, without the queen's charge: and entered into some reformation of religion, which he proposed should soon be better provided for by parliament.

When the lord-deputy had taken this care and order, he prepared speedily to go into the north against the foreign forces there landed, and their adherents the traitors; setting for-
wards

went on his journey, with such forces as he could make, (about the middle of August, 1584: but the islanders hearing of the deputy's determination, and also understanding how well affected all the subjects of Leynster, Munster, and Conaught were; and how ready, contrary to their expectations, to serve against them; they most part fled before he came to Newry, where he was met by 'Tor'lough Lenough, having neither protection nor pardon; and there the lord-deputy received his pledge, he yielding himself in all things, as he was required.

Whilst the lord-deputy stayed at Newry, understanding that Sorleboy had entertained a number of islanders, joined to him Okeham and Brian Carraugh, and stood upon terms to hold by force what he had gotten by the same; the lord-deputy thought it a great dishonour to suffer him proudly to countenance the invasion of foreigners to eat out her majesty's natural subjects. Whereupon, entering into action against Sorleboy, and dividing his army into two parts, to follow him on both sides of the river Ban, the lord-deputy himself went with the chief men, and half the forces, on Clandaboy side; and sent Sir John Norris, lord-president of Munster, accompanied with the baron of Dongannon, to Tyrone side, with the other part of the army.

The lord-deputy, on the one side, spoiled Brian Carraugh's country; and Sorleboy being driven

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driven over the Ban, to the bog of Croncom-
kine; Sir John Norris, on the other side,
overslipping Sorleboy, fell upon O-Chan, one
of his chiefs, and took from him two hun-
dred cows, which gave the army some re-
lief, though many of them were embezzled in
the driving. Whereupon O-Chan submitting
himself, came in and made offer to serve upon
Sorleboy; and Brian Caraugh sued for mercy.
Now, because Sorleboy shunned the deputy's
side, trusting to the bogs on the other, his
lordship sent over to the president some of his
horse, and footmen, with most of his cat-
tle.

Then, with the rest of his forces, he en-
camped before Dúsluse, and besieged it, be-
ing one of the strongest places in Ireland; for
it is situated upon a rock, hanging over the
sea, divided from the main with a deep na-
tural rock-ditch, having no way to it but by
a small neck of the same rock, which is
also cut off very deep. It had in it then a
strong garrison, the captain being a Scot;
who, when the deputy sent to him to yield,
refused; and answered, That he would keep
it to the last man; which made the deputy
plant a battery before it, the cannon being
brought by sea to Port-Rush, and drawn
thither by force of men; wherein he spared
not the labour of his own servants: and,
when small shot played so thick out of the fort,
that the common soldiers began to shrink in
plant-

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planting of the artillery, the lord-deputy made his own men fill the gabions with earth, and make good the ground, till the ordnance was planted and the trenches made.

This being done, the lord-deputy himself gave fire to the first piece of ordnance, which did no great hurt; but the next morning, after the garrison had over night felt a little the force of the battery, they sent to the deputy to be received to mercy; which he condescended to the rather because he would save the charges of repairing again that place, which otherwise he must have beaten down; and because he would not spend the provision, weaken the forces, and hinder the rest of the services then intended, by lying before one fort; and therefore he granted them life and liberty to depart.

After Dunluse, the lord-deputy took Donferte, the garrison being fled; likewise another pile by Port-Rush, and all Sorleboy's islands and loughs; so that he had not a hole left in the main land to creep into.

These things being thus established, and garrisons planted at all proper stations, viz. two hundred footmen, whereof one hundred were found by Magwylly, and seventy horsemen, at Colerane, under captain Carelile; and two hundred foot-men, being of the old bands, and fifty horsemen, whereof twenty-five were enlisted at Kockferyns, under Sir Henry Bagnal, whom the lord-deputy made colonel

SIR JOHN DUNBAR

colonel of the forces here, he took his way through the woods of Kylultagh and Kylwaren, and returned to Newry in the twentieth of September, where he remained ten days to perfect this service.

Here came to him Turlough O'Neale, bringing with him Henry O'Neale, Shone O'Neale's son, that escaped from Sir Henry Sidney; and to that place there came also all the rest of the lords of Ulster; who, upon their knees, swore fidelity unto the queen, and delivered in such pledges as the lord-deputy demanded; and made like composition for finding of soldiers, and upon the same condition as O'Neale, O'Donel, and Magroyly had done; every one for the numbers ensuing; Hugh Oge and Shane Mac Brian, for the Nether Clandaboy, eighty men; Sir Magenes, for Huaugh, forty men; the captain of Kylultagh, fifteen; the captain of Kylwaren, ten; Mac Carten, ten; the baron of Donganin, Forney, Mac Mahon, Fowes, Dangutry, and O'Harilan, two hundred. In all which, O'Neale's, O'Donel's, and Mac Willie's, amounted to four hundred English, besides thirty to be maintained after the Irish manner by Donnel Corme.

The lord-deputy perceiving some questions for government amongst them, but especially betwixt Turlough O'Neale, the baron of Dungannon, and the marshal; he first reconciled all unkindness between them, and then thought good to divide the greater govern-

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ments into matter, that none should be too strong.

The lord-deputy being returned to Dublin, brought Turlough O'Neale's son with him; but, because his father might need him, being become a good subject; in all appearance, he shortly returned him back again, upon the receipt of four principal men, which he had appointed to be sent to him; which should be sure pledges both for her majesty upon O'Neale, and for him upon his followers; of which Sir John wrote to the privy-council in England. At that time also Shan O'Neale's son, which came over with the Scots, made suit to be received into favour; and, because they had lately taken one Mr. Lambert, an English gentleman, the lord-deputy the rather inclined to hearken to them for that gentleman's sake; and gave order to the marshal accordingly.

But we must here remark, that Sir John Perrot was of a very haughty and choleric disposition; by which, while he was working the weal of Ireland, he gave great offence to most part of the inhabitants; but chiefly by his proposing in parliament a suspension of the famous law called Poyning's Act; which raised a popular cry against him, at the same time that, by allowing the lords and commons to discuss the propriety of revealing the act too freely, he brought himself into disgrace with the queen and privy-council in

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in England; and an impeachment against him was furthered by the lord-chancellor and the archbishop of Dublin; but, what particularly effected his ruin, was, an unguarded and indecent expression he let fall from him. Her majesty, as he thought, had used him hardly in abridging his authority on the representation of his enemies; and he remonstrated against it to the council in very strong terms; upon which he received some gentler letters from them. "Look ye," said he, as he read them to the standers by, "how the queen is ready to be-piss herself for fear of the Spaniards. I am her white boy again." These, and such like speeches, were often reported by his secretary to his disadvantage.

It now appeared, that, at the lord-deputy's coming into Ireland, he found the north ready to enter into rebellion, and to incite the lords of Munster and Conaught to combine with them therein. Thurlough O'Neale was ready to join with the Islanders, being brought in by Sorleboy; and they having brought in with them Shane O'Neale's son, to countenance their cause and their coming; and, being more in number, and better furnished, than formerly, had also aid promised and expected; which, no doubt, would have speedily followed from Spain if they had found any success at first.

All these inconveniences the lord-deputy had to encounter and prevent at his first land-

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ing, without any provision against them; and yet all their peril he overcame within less than ten weeks; settled the hearts and estates of the good subjects, subdued, or expelled the bad; took pledges for all such as were suspected; compounded all controversies betwixt the great lords; drew the northern roads to a composition for the maintainance of one thousand two hundred soldiers, almost all on their own charges; and passed through the five provinces within less than a quarter of a year; notwithstanding the impediments of the services, and the foul weather which almost always followed him in the latter part of his journey.

These services seem strange to have been so speedily and successfully performed; yet is this truth incontestably proved: so that it should seem, industry, prudence, and prosperity, streve, at the first entrance of Sir John Periot's government, which should gain him the greatest honour and advancement; and how well his services were allowed of by the queen and privy-council of England, as also how willing they were to grant his reasonable motions, for the better accomplishment of the services that he intended, appears by a letter which their lordships wrote to the lord-deputy, which was as full of commendation and encouragement, though other letters and messages were afterwards sometimes fraught with sharp censure and strict restraints, both
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from the queen his sovereign, and from either of her privy-council either by her direction or privity. Such is the fortune of governors, to be subject unto censure.

In the year 1584, the lord deputy sent and set forth certain orders to be observed by the justices of the peace within their several limits through the realm, containing ten articles; which, to avoid tediousness, are here omitted. And also, for the farther confirmation of all these conclusions, and for the addition of some new laws, as for the abrogating of some of the old, if necessity should so require, the lord-deputy caused a parliament to be summoned; in which most of the nobility of that nation, and as many of the spirituality and commonalty of that kingdom, as were sufficient to supply all the places of the three states necessary for the parliament, were there assembled.

To this parliamentary assembly, there were none, of any degree or calling, suffered to come in any cloaths out of the English fashions; and, although it seemed both uncouth and cumbersome for some of them to be so clad, who preferred custom before decency, and opinion before reason; yet he constrained them that needed constraint, to come in such civil sort as best became the place and the service: and the better to encourage them, he bestowed both gowns and cloaks of velvet and fatten on some of them, as Turlough, Le-

Com^{ing} others, who yet thought not themselves so richly, or at least, so contentedly attired, as in their own mantles, and other, their country habits.

Amongst these, one, being put into English apparel, came to the lord-deputy, and besought one thing of him, in a pleasant sort of humour, as they are most of them witty; which was, that it would please his lordship to let one of his chaplain's, whom he termed his priest, accompany him, arrayed in Irish apparel; "and then," said he, "they will wonder as much at him as they do now at me; so that I shall pass more quietly and unpointed at."

By this it should seem that they think, when they once leave their old customs, then all men wonder at them, and that then they are out of all frame or good fashion, according to that saying, "They which are born in hell, think there is no heaven."

In this parliament, as the lord-deputy had the chief place, so was he the most eminent man that came thither, both in goodliness of stature, majesty of countenance, and in all things else that might yield ornament to so great and high a presence; for, as they witness, who were eye-witnesses of it, they never beheld a man of such comeliness in countenance, gesture, and gait, as he appeared to be in his parliamentary robes; and, as a German lord affirmed, who was at that parliament, he had

had travelled through Germany, France, England, and Ireland; but yet, in all those countries, never did he see any man comparable to Sir John Perrot, the lord-deputy of Ireland, for his porte and majesty of personage, whose picture this German lord did much desire to carry with him into that country.

However, though he received great oppositions in his government, yet still he maintained the state in firm peace; so that there was scarce any known rebel in Ireland besides O'Donel; who, being suspected because his people began to play some bad tricks, and himself stood upon terms not fitting for him, the lord-deputy and council entered into consultation how he might be apprehended. Some advised to send forces into O'Donel's country, and to bring him in by force: but the lord-deputy argued against that project, alledging that this could not be done without an army of two or three thousand men, which would be both hazardous and chargeable; "yet," said he, "you shall give me leave to try one conclusion which I have in hand; and, if that take not effect, then let us fall to what other means we can devise for his apprehension."

In consequence of this advice, he ordered a ship to be prepared with some wines, and the captain, being one chosen for the purpose, he had command to go into O'Donel's country, and sail as near his dwelling as he might, there proffering his wine to sell.

himself into the country, the people hurried to the ship, some to drink, some to price the wines, and all of them, according to the captain's instructions, had what wine they would drink for nothing, as a taste: with this kind offer, that if O'Donell would come himself, they would buy the best wine at a reasonable rate. At length O'Donell came himself to buy some wines, whom they used so courteously, that they gave him his full allowance, and finding the wind serve well for the purpose, which was to return back, and carry O'Donell with them, they stowed him under hatches, and so brought him to Dublin. Which to have been effected by force, would, by all conjecture, have cost much treasure, if not blood, because O'Donell at that time was one of the strongest and most dangerous subjects in the kingdom, by reason of his alliance, his command, and the strength of his country; but by this stratagem he was brought in without blows, and his country kept in quiet without rebellion.

But the lord-deputy finding, that in spite of all his services the malignity against him increased, receiving many nipping letters from the queen, and some restraints against dealing in any thing of importance without the consent of the English counsel, he desired nothing more than to be removed from his government: and to effect his wishes, he wrote several letters to his best friends in England. At length it was obtained, but before he gave
over

over his command, it being a troublesome time, when the Spanish armada was expected; in the year 1588, he sent for the chief lords of each country, requiring them to put in pledges for the maintenance of peace, and defending the realm against foreign invasion; to which they all yielded willingly, or at least seemingly so, and the lord-deputy, to prevent suspicion of any mistrust against them, made them a speech to good purpose, as the time then stood. Which began as follows:

“ You that are here committed to custody as pledges, and such as have put you in for pledges, I would wish neither of you to think that this security is required, so much in distrust of your particular fidelities, as for the general quiet of the country, and for the particular good of yourselves in a time so dangerous: for if I were in your cases, or was a lord of any country in Ireland, I should at this time, rather to be thus bounden than left at liberty. Because whilst any lord is confined, and not in his country, if any thing be done amiss there, he hath the less to answer for it, &c. &c.”

Which pledges, if they had been kept safe and carefully (as some of them, whereof O'Donell was one, were afterwards suffered to escape) they had been good assurances for the quietness of the country, and had saved the lives of many men, and the expense of

much treasure, which was afterwards spent in the war, and by the revolt of these men and many others, which did follow, and adhere unto them. And for conclusion of the lord-deputy's services, a counsellor of Ireland writeth thus, Subiugavit Ultoniam, pacificavit Concomitantes, Maxavit Mediam, ligavit Moniam, regit Lageniam, extirpavit Scotos, refrænavit Anglos, et hijs omnibus per acque vectigal acquisivit Reginæ.

Now the lord-deputy, leaving all things in good order, and the country in tranquility, prepared for his departure ; but before his delivery of the sword, he gave unto the city of Dublin a fair standing gilt bowl (which passeth from one mayor to another in Dublin, yearly) with his arms engraven, and a parrot on the top ; about the beak whereof were written these words, " Relinquo in Pace ;" I leave in peace. Which was well known to be true ; for at the delivery of the sword to Sir William Fitzwilliams (who succeeded him in the government) he said these words in the hearing of many honourable persons, " Now, my lord-deputy, I have delivered you the sword, with the country, in firm peace and quietness ; my hope is, you will inform the queen and the council of England thereof, even as you find it ; for I have left all in peace, and pledges sufficient to maintain the peace."

whom the new lord deputy answered, Sir John Perrot, I must needs confess, that
I find

I find the country quiet, and all things here in good order; I pray God I may ripe it half so well, and then I shall think that I have done my queen and country good service." Then Sir John Perrot replied, " My lord-deputy, I will say more to you before all these witnesses, that there is no ill-minded or suspected person in this kingdom, which can carry but six swords after him into the field, but if you will name him, and shall desire to have him, notwithstanding that I have resigned the sword, and with it all my authority, yet I will (so you shall think it necessary) send for any such, and if they come not in on my word, I will loose the credit and reputation of all my service." To which the lord-deputy answered, " I know you can do this, Sir John Perrot, but there is no need thereof; for all is as well as it needs to be, and so I confess it."

After this charge delivered up, and all things else provided for Sir John Perrot's departure, he left Ireland, and at the day of his departure out of Dublin, there were many soldiers and gentlemen came thither to take their leave of him; amongst whom were old O'Neale and Turlough Lenough, in the great reverence and love they bore him, did not only come to Dublin to bid him farewell, but took boat and saw him on shipboard, looking after him as far as ever they could ken the ship under sail, and shedding tears as if they had

had been beaten; the like did others of good note and name at that time. Also a great number of poor country people came at his departure; some that dwelt twenty, some forty miles, or more, from Dublin; and many of them, that had never seen him before, gave, as he went through the streets, to take him by the hand, or to touch his garment; all praying for him, and for his long life: and when he asked them why they did so, they answered, "That they never had enjoyed their own with peace before his time, and doubted they should never do so again, when he was gone."

Such was the love of the country in general towards Sir John Perrot, that never did any lord-deputy of Ireland depart thence, with more good liking of the commons, nobility, and gentry of that nation, whereof, and of all that is here written touching his services, there are divers worthy of credit, who will bear witness thereof.

So Sir John Perrot having governed four years, as lord-deputy of Ireland, departed thence in the year 1588, and sailed to his castle of Carew in Pembroke-shire; where he arrived, accompanied with as gallant a troop of gentlemen and serving-men, as ever followed any lord-deputy of his sort.

Thus far of Sir John Perrot's life is taken, with very little alteration or omission, from a manuscript, written by an English gentleman who

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who was in Ireland with him during the time of his government; which manuscript was first brought over from that kingdom, about fifteen years ago. It remains for us to inform the reader, that shortly after Sir John's arrival in England, a charge of high-treason was exhibited against him; in consequence of which he was taken into custody, and for some time confined in the lord-treasurer's house; from whence, on the twenty-seventh of April 1592, he was brought to his trial before a special commission, and received sentence of death (after a most severe and cruel scrutiny was made into his actions, words, and even thoughts) by a law, long since happily repealed.

The above gentleman seems to have had a great tenderness to Sir John Perrot, and therefore draws a veil on that part of his life, which he judges too melancholy to be exposed; and indeed he may well be excused for not carrying on the history farther, as from the time of his retirement to the arms of his enemies unwearied malice (which had persecuted him so long, and with so much barbarity) his condemnation passed not many months. Though the queen is said to have been so well satisfied of his innocence, that being told of his condemnation, she cried out, "Then by my troth they have found guilty an innocent man;" or words to that effect.

He was returned to the Tower, where a natural death soon put an end to all his troubles, and his liberal mistress, queen Elizabeth, bestowed that estate on his son, which an entail had long before secured to him, and which she thought not fit to dispute; in this indeed more politic, as well as more commendable than some of her successors; though even here, according to Cambden, the merit of having married the earl of Essex's sister, seems to have been no inconsiderable motive. We shall not enter further on the character of this great man, which has been drawn by so many able pens, the immortal Cambden, Sir Francis Newton, and David Lloyd.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



